DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 196 277 FL 012 029

AUTHOR Merritt, Marilyn Wilkey; Humphrey, Frank M.
TITLE Service-like Events During Individual Work Time and Their Contribution to the Nature of Communication in Primary Classrooms. Final Report.
INSTITUTION Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Teaching and Learning Div.
PUB DATE Mar 80
GRANT NIE-G-78-0081
NOTE 248p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC14 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Class Organization; *Classroom Communication; Communication Research; Individualized Instruction; Pragmatics; Primary Education; Sociolinguistics; Student Teacher Relationship; *Teacher Response

ABSTRACT

This report presents the findings of a 17-month project whose aim was to analyze the complexity of language use in the classroom through the examination of one classroom event or key episode type: the "service-like event." This term covers those situations during periods of individualized instruction in which a child who is not working with the teacher solicits the attention of the teacher in order to get help with a task, confirmation, or other need. Traditionally, much of the social interaction of the classroom has been "whole group," with the teacher as the focus of the lesson or activity. However, many classrooms have recently been restructured so as to provide individualized instruction to the students for at least part of the day. Deviation from whole group structure places new communicative demands on both teacher and students. A study was done to determine how effective teachers structure their actions and their responses to children's actions in these situations. Results indicate that teachers develop norms for making communicative responses to children's initiatives and that they apply these norms with some degree of consistency across participation structures. Transcriptions of classroom communication are included. (Author/PJM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED196277

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Service-like Events During Individual Work Time and their Contribution to the Nature of Communication in Primary Classrooms

FINAL REPORT FOR GRANT NO. NIE G-78-0081 OF THE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

Marilyn Wilkey Merritt
Principal Investigator

in collaboration
with

Frank M. Humphrey
Research Associate

FL 012 029

Center for Applied Linguistics
1611 North Kent Street
Arlington, Virginia 22209

March 1980

ABSTRACT

This report presents the findings of a seventeen-month project funded by the National Institute of Education as one of a group of investigations of teaching as a linguistic process at the elementary level. The aim of the project has been to analyze the complexity of language use in the classroom through examination of one classroom "event" or key episode-type--the "service-like event". This term covers those situations during periods of individualized instruction in which a child who is not officially working with the teacher solicits the teacher's attention in order to get help with a task or confirmation or other needed attention.

Most elementary classrooms are comprised of one teacher and many children, and traditionally much of the social interaction of the classroom has been "whole group" with the teacher as the focus of the lesson or activity. However, most elementary classrooms are now designed such that part of the day is spend in an alternative participation structure. In recent years, in response to the transient and heterogeneous nature of many school populations, and in response to the schools' desires to match every child's aptitude with appropriate levels of instruction, many elementary classrooms are conducted so as to provide individualized instruction to the students for at least part of the day. Thus, a class of 18 to 30 students may be divided into three or four reading groups, each of which will meet with the teacher separately at different times. Another part of the school day may involve the teacher's giving a brief lesson to the whole group and then asking the children to work on an assignment individually or in small groups, with the teacher typically working with one individual or group on that assignment.

When the structure of classroom participation changes away from whole group this places new communicative demands on both teacher and students. In particular,teachers must orient to having one primary focus of activity and many secondary ones (all the children not involved with her/him). The students must orient to either managing without the teacher's help or effectively soliciting the teacher's attention in a way that is minimally disruptive to the teacher's primary activity. This study was an attempt to fill part of the gap in our knowledge about how effective teachers structure their actions and their responses to children's actions in these situations.

Results indicate that effective teachers develop norms for making communicative responses to children's initiatives and that they apply these norms with some degree of consistency across participation structures. In order to locate these patterns it has been necessary to develop new concepts and formulations for describing the dynamics of classroom interaction.

(abstract continued)

The theoretical perspective that has been brought to this research can be characterized as social interactional and sociolinguistic. One of the specific objectives of the project has been to explore the importance of language use in the classroom by bringing to a focus on language a consideration of non-linguistic features of communication, and the broader perspective of language use as social interaction. A second objective has been to explore the nature of continuities between norms for conduct within the classroom and norms for conduct outside the classroom, and the nature of continuities between situations within the classroom. A third objective has been to look at language in its function as conveyor of academic information in addition to its function of establishing and maintaining social contact.

The methods employed in this study have been sociolinguistic and microethnographic. The techniques involved are basically those of qualitative analysis built on linguistic and ethnographic methods. These methods reflect the nature of the data available for investigation. The study was based upon an available bank of video-taped and audio-taped data from naturally occurring classroom situations. These data were collected over the course of one school year (1975-1976) in two classrooms at each grade level (nursery through third) within one primary school. The school involved was a private independent school chosen for its reputation as an effective school as well as its cooperation and interest in research collaboration. This N.I.E. funded study was a follower study of an earlier study funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The Carnegie study was responsible for collecting the taped data, and has further provided descriptions and analyses of other portions of the total bank that have been useful for contextualizing the service-like event data of this N.I.E. study.

NOV 3 1980

To the anonymous twelve teachers and ten classrooms

who have shared that spontaneity of behavior without which this work could not have been undertaken,

to Peg Griffin and Roger Shuy

whose foresight and intellectual energy for applying linguistics to social needs made possible the original collection of data used in this project,

and to Gary Merritt, Brienne Merritt, and Seth Merritt

and

Alexis Mazzocco

who have given the most, of that peculiar combination of intellectual and moral support without which it's not clear what would have been possible.

"The assessment of pupil progress by Calhoun teachers is a familiar routine...the gradebook and the report card provide the most functional profile of pupil progress for the teacher attempting to give evidence of competence to her constituencies, but in a personal sense they are not the most meaningful. When Diana talks about measuring pupils' progress, she, like her colleagues, dwells not on quantitative measures, but on those unpredictable moments when the behavior of a pupil manifests a step forward. "A light goes on in their faces." "They exclaim over solving a problem that has frustrated them." "They suddenly begin asking a lot of questions." These unforeseen moments may occur because of or in spite of the way Calhoun teachers proceed in the classroom, but their *unpredictability does not diminish their significance*. One might view these descriptions of pupil progress as personal and sentimental characterizations of role fulfillment. It is more important to understand them *as embodying a central ideal, the individualization of schooling*. It is an ideal which Calhoun teachers as individuals have to reconcile with more impelling features of classroom life."

Richard L. Warren, 1975, p. 145
(Italics added)

"...In anthropology and in personal life, much of what we know is known through narratives, anecdotes, firsthand reports, telling observations. But in our scholarly chairs we find it difficult to acknowledge their validity. If we are to extend our understanding of language to the full, so that we can fully comprehend its role in schooling, in education, in social life, in our lives, we have to find a way to come to terms with the validity of uses of language that are aesthetic. Indeed, such uses do play a vital part in decisions and perceptions, so that we handicap our understanding of educational institutions and the forces that affect them if we do not make them explicit objects of attention...."

Dell Hymes, 1977, p. 93

"...Service systems are one of the fundamental organizational devices of public order, and their close study has hardly begun..."

Erving Goffman, 1971, p. 37 note

Investigator's Preface

This is a report of work accomplished under a grant from the National Institute of Education providing funds from September 1, 1978 through January 31, 1980. The grant was awarded under a special grants competition soliciting work that would deal with teaching as a linguistic process, especially targeted at understanding what goes on at the early elementary level.

The notion that teaching is a linguistic process is one that has recently acquired some currency, but the investigation of what this means - both theoretically and practically - is still very much at issue. The challenge for each project that undertakes such investigation is to make a systematic entree into the morass of data, or rather "possible data", in such a way that one can locate both manipulable and intrinsic features of the linguistic process of teaching. The approach of this project has been to select a key classroom event for descriptive analysis - the "service-like event". Briefly, this is an event that occurs during individualized instruction time, that is characterized by a child approaching the teacher and soliciting the teacher's attention for some kind of help.

Like most research undertakings, this one came about through the confluence of a number of different happenings. In the summer of 1973 the Linguistic Society of America held its annual summer institute at the University of Michigan on the general topic of language variation and social context, and inspired with the promise of interdisciplinary exchange. As at all LSA institutes faculty and students from many schools met and mingled, and lasting friendships and working relationships were formed. A significant mix were linguistics students from Georgetown University (which included Peg Griffin, Stephen Cahir, and Donna Christian) and the University of Pennsylvania (which included me). The Georgetown group, largely under the guidance of Roger Shuy, Ralph Fasold, C.J. Bailey, and Walt Wolfram, came with special backgrounds in variation theory and educational linguistics. At that time I had began work on my dissertation on service encounters in stores and public service areas. (This was a topic I had first looked at in St. Louis while taking a class from David Sudnow and George Psathas in the course of graduate study in anthropology at Washington University.) My dissertation advisors included John Fought, Erving Goffman, Dell Hymes, and William Labov, and I came to the institute with a special background in social interaction, ethnography of communication, discourse analysis and conversational analysis (much influenced by the two years of Gail Jefferson's post doctoral association with the Center for Urban Ethnography at Penn). That summer we all learned a lot.

In the summer of 1974 I moved to the Washington metropolitan area and re-established contact with the Georgetown group. I was still working on my dissertation which was not completed until May of 1976. In 1975, through the Center for Applied Linguistics, Roger Shuy gained the financial backing of the Carnegie Corporation of New York to launch a large project to study children's functional language development and education in the early years. Peg Griffin played a major role in the development of ideas for the research and served as Project Director through the intensive period of video-tape collection in 1975-76 and throughout the ensuing period of analysis which culminated in a final report in 1978. Stephen Cahir and Donna Christian had significant roles in the project, at the nursery and second grade levels, respectively. Another Georgetown graduate student, Frank Humphrey, participated at the kindergarten level, and was also somewhat involved at the third grade level. I first met Frank Humphrey in the spring of 1976 when I sat in on Ralph Fasold's course in discourse analysis and made a presentation of some of my dissertation work.

In late 1976 and early 1977 discussion began between Peg Griffin, Stephen Cahir, and me in which I was actively encouraged to consider developing a research project of my own that would involve using the large video and audiotape corpus that had then only recently been collected. At that time a number of researchers were working on various aspects of the data, but it was clear that the quantity and richness of the materials were such as to almost demand further investigation. Since I had not previously worked in an educational setting, thinking out a research project required some time.

By the summer of 1977 I had a fairly good idea of what I wanted to look at. I had chosen the service-like event not only because of its "keyness" in terms of types of classroom events, but also because the social interactional phenomenon of copresent individuals engaging and disengaging in focussed verbal (and non-verbal) exchange was a major concern in my dissertation work and therefore something that I might have a headstart at analyzing in another setting. When the N.I.E. sent out a grants competition notice in fall of 1977 I proposed my ideas and funds were awarded for this project, which began in September 1978.

During this period of development the possibilities of who from the original data collection project might be involved as staff in the service-like event project went through some shifts. Peg Griffin left the Center for Applied Linguistics and took a position in California, Donna Christian was fully committed to research projects with Walt Wolfram, Stephen Cahir had become heavily involved in completing his dissertation and was starting to think of projects of his own. Also during this time period I came to know Frank Humphrey and Judith Otteson much better. They were actively involved in discourse analysis of portions of the data bank for the Carnegie report of 1978. Also, Frank Humphrey had begun to zero in on his dissertation topic of turn-taking sanctions and he asked me to serve as one of his dissertation readers.

At the time the proposal was submitted it was expected that Frank Humphrey would be the major research associate and that Stephen Cahir and Judith Otteson would work at a more reduced level of effort. By the time the project began, however, there had been a significant reduction in the level of funding and Judith Otteson had left for Norway. As the project began Stephen Cahir was just completing his dissertation. He was able to work on the project from October through mid-January, during which time we compiled the nursery data. In December he was awarded his degree and in February he began directing another project at C.A.L. full-time.

Frank Humphrey has worked with me throughout the project, and much of what has been accomplished is owed to the strength of our working relationship. Concurrently, he has worked on his own research as a dissertation project. Happily, this work has been also concluded and Humphrey's degree awarded in December 1979. Some of the results of that work are conveyed in section IV of this report in which we contrast teacher sanctions in the service-like event data with teacher's turn-taking sanctions in whole group lessons. One of Humphrey's major contributions to the project has been the detailed transcription of large sections of the data. Over the past few years, since the original data bank collection , Humphrey has been involved in transcribing video-tape data, and his expertise reflects this experience.

In writing this report it has been difficult to come to grips with the fact that the major product of the research is probably my own understanding and that of others involved. Then there has been the further realization that what is known or understood through several months of work is not readily (if at all) transferrable through a certain number of pages of written prose. Nevertheless I have made an effort. What I have primarily tried to convey is the understanding that has been gleaned from doing this research. The methodological "proof" or documentation of how we know what I think we know is more elusive, though great energy has been expended in this direction. Whatever has been achieved in this vein owes a great debt to the consistent prodding of Frank Humphrey and Stephen Cahir to explain my early formulations, and their determined and painstaking efforts in sifting through potential analysis segments both with me and on their own. Much also is owed to project consultants Rebecca Barr, Courtney Cazden, Erving Goffman, and Jeffrey Shultz, and to various conference participants, discussants, and editors who have helped to shape my thinking. Several portions of the findings given in this report have been already presented at gatherings of professionals and are in varying stages of publication (see appendix on dissemination).

I would also like to acknowledge the more diffuse influence of research colleagues at the Center for Applied Linguistics. These have included not only Humphrey and Cahir, but also Donna Christian, Tom Dietrich, Cissy Freeman, Evelyn Jacob, Don Larkin, Pha Bo Lang, Ceil Kovac, Sylvia Scribner, Roger Shuy, Dick Tucker, Walt Wolfram, and Nancy Yanofsky. I would also like to thank the staff and administration of C.A.L. generally for their support of the project. Special thanks go to Ruby Berkemeyer and Tomasina Blackwood for their secretarial support. Ruby Berkemeyer has typed this report in its entirety.

Finally, the pervasive influence of my own children, Brienne Merritt and Seth Merritt (now in 8th and 3rd grades), conversations with their teachers, and considerations of their home and school experiences is difficult to assess. And the often shared psychic energy of my husband, Gary Merritt, has been invaluable.

Marilyn Wilkey Merritt
Principal Investigator
March 1980

PROJECT AFFILIATES
For Grant No. NIE G-78-0081

Program Administrators:

National Institute of Education, Teaching and Learning Program:

Assistant Director for Teaching and Instruction
Director of special grants competition on Teaching As
A Linguistic Process: Virginia Koehler
assisted by: Samuel Pisaro
Project Monitor: Marcia Whiteman

Center for Applied Linguistics:

C.A.L. Director; Corporate President: G. Richard Tucker
Division Director for Native and English Language Education: Allene Guss Grognet
Project Director: Marilyn Wilkey Merritt

Research Staff:

Principal Investigator: Marilyn Wilkey Merritt

Research Associates: Frank M. Humphrey
(for one quarter) Stephen R. Cahir

Secretarial Support: Ruby Berkemeyer
Tomasina Blackwood

Consultants:

from the Center for Applied Linguistics: Donna Christian
Roger W. Shuy
(also Prof. of Linguistics at Georgetown University)

from outside Institutions:

Rebecca Barr
Department of Education
University of Chicago

Courtney Cazden
Professor of Education
Harvard University

Erving Goffman
Benjamin Franklin
Professor of Anthropology
University of Pennsylvania

Jeffrey Shultz
College of Education
University of Cincinnati

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Investigator's Preface....................iii
List of Project Affiliates....................ix

I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION....................2
Marilyn Merritt

A. Why Service-Like Events....................3
B. Methodological Comment: On the Notion of Locus of Observation....................21
Notes....................39

II. DISCUSSION OF DATA AND PROCEDURES....................43
Marilyn Merritt and Frank Humphrey

A. Introduction....................44
B. Procedures....................50

III. SERVICE-LIKE EVENTS IN CONTEXT....................59
Marilyn Merritt

A. Some Objectives and Demands of Individualized Instruction.....60
Notes....................86
B. The Non-Verbal Solicitation and Matters of the Intertwining of Verbal and Non-Verbal Modalities....................87
Notes....................110
C. The Verbal Solicitation and Considerations of Conversational Access, Engagement, and Vectors of Activity....116
Notes....................145
D. More on Modality: Dual Processing, Slotting, Modality Splitting, Modality Focus, and Inferencing; And A Note On Ritual....................146
Notes....................179

IV. COMPARING WITH WHOLE GROUP SITUATIONS: Vectors of Activity, Allocation of Resources, and "Turn-Taking" Sanctions........180
Frank Humphrey and Marilyn Merritt

Notes....................205

V. A FINAL OVERVIEW....................207
Marilyn Merritt with Frank Humphrey

Bibliography....................216
Appendix: Report on Dissemination to Date....................234

I. General Introduction

A. Why Service-Like Events

B. Methodological Comment: On The Notion of Locus of Observation

A. Why Service-Like Events

In recent years, interest in the study of classroom communication has burgeoned. Whereas much of the study of language in the classroom prior to this period focused on the evaluation of language use as output of the educational process, recent interest has turned to language in the classroom as constituting much of the process. Several studies have greatly enriched our knowledge about the diversity of functions of language in the classroom (Cazden et al. 1972, Griffin and Shuy 1978, Simon and Boyer 1969, Stubbs and Delamont 1976).

Despite the growing interest in the nature of classroom communication, it is apparent that some aspects of classroom communication have been the object of a great deal of attention while others are just beginning to be explored. As pointed out by Koehler (1977) and by Barr and Dreeben (1977) many process studies have in fact been what Duncan and Biddle (1974) have called process-product studies. These are studies that attempt to determine which teaching processes are effective in relation to specified desired outcomes or products, such as student achievement. Despite the value of this line of research, there seem to be problems with it as well. As our knowledge about the limitations of process product design have increased (see Koehler op cit, Barr and Dreeben), and as more recent studies have expanded our knowledge of the scope of functional variation to be investigated, it is clear that there is a continuing need for research of an exploratory and integrative nature.

One kind of research that addresses this need is that which views the interrelations of functions of language in the classroom in terms of rules for classroom discourse. Very recently, some studies of classroom communication have developed their results in these terms (Mehan 1979, Griffin and Humphrey 1978, Sinclair and Coulthard 1975, Mishler 1975a, b). The interest generated by these studies has led to the realization that we are only beginning to understand the parameters that structure classroom communication, and that further descriptive research is probably the best approach to furthering this understanding.

Recent studies of classroom communication have been significant on both a theoretical and practical level. On a theoretical level, these studies have provided an important data base for investigating the nature of language use. Important questions relevant to linguistic and sociolinguistic theory have been raised. For example, "How does the context of situation (e.g. a schoolroom) affect the pragmatic "value" (e.g. "request", "order") of an utterance?", "What kinds of 'conversational work' do questions do?", "What is the nature of the relationship between referential meaning and non-referential meaning?" (Christian 1976, Griffin 1977, Mishler 1976a; especially as these relate to theoretical perspectives raised in Cole and Morgan 1975, Goody 1978, Gumperz and Hymes 1972, Hymes 1974). And, from the theoretical perspective of social science generally the following question has been raised: "How shall regularities of language use be integrated into a more general theory of social interaction?" (Bauman and Sherzer 1974, Shultz 1976; especially as these relate to theoretical perspectives developed in Goffman 1964, Gumperz and Hymes 1972, Sudnow 1972).

On a practical level, studies of communication in the classroom have provided an important descriptive base for investigating the relationship between educational achievement and the process of communication. It has been demonstrated that educational achievement is related not only to the child's knowledge of the formal grammatical systems of his language, but also to the child's knowledge of the functional systems of language use (Halliday 1975, Labov 1970, Shuy 1976, Griffin and Shuy 1978). This "functional" knowledge is basically knowledge of the conventions for performing and interpreting language behavior. It is tied to the use of language in particular social situations (or types of social situations), and conventions that are more or less specific to speech communities, cultural groups, and to particular social institutions and activities within them.

We know that children from all backgrounds have learned rules for talking with parents and peers before they come to school and that new rules must be acquired for classroom communication. Recent evidence has suggested that children have more difficulty in acquiring classroom discourse rules when they are very different from "home discourse" rules (Philips 1972, Erickson and Mohatt 1980). Inadequate learning of the processes and rules of classroom discourse often results in severe consequences for the educational achievement of the child. It may lead directly to misunderstandings of referential meaning, or through misunderstanding of social meaning it may lead to lowered teacher expectations and resultant decrease in academic information presented. In both instances, the child's level of cognitive achievement is held back. Further, these problems are often compounded at another level. Studies of classroom communication have shown that teachers' evaluations of children's cognitive achievement are also affected by children's knowledge of the rules for classroom discourse (Brooks 1979, Carrasco 1979, Reader and Cherry 1978, Mehan 1973 and Shuy 1970).

One of the most important concerns of the American educational system is that of equalizing opportunity for learning and standards for evaluation. These recent studies of classroom communication strongly suggest that continued basic descriptive research is needed to better understand some of the dynamic issues involved. These include the issues of "preparatory learning" and "interference," of knowing "when is a context" (Erickson 1977) and how to "transfer" a format or a complex cognitive processing skill from one situation to another (Cazden 1979). These issues are central to the educational salience of understanding more precisely the form of classroom communication.

Equally important issues concern the multiplicity of functions of classroom communication. Central as it is, we know that the function of providing a coding system for the transfer of academic information, is not the only one served by language in the classroom. The need for studies of the social use of language in the classroom has been widely acknowledged. In discussing functions of language in the classroom, Hymes (1972:xxix-xxx) has argued that in terms of identifying communicative acts:

> The difficult and important point is that one often cannot tell the act from the form of the message. One and the same sentence, the same set of words in the same syntactic relationship, may be now a request, now a command, now a compliment, now an insult, depending upon tacit understandings within a community. These understandings, or presuppositions, or norms of interpretation, involve recognition of certain sentences as conventional ways of expressing or accomplishing certain things--from long - established proverbs to lines from popular songs and currently established idioms; involve recognition of some utterances as pertaining to certain genres...; and involve specific ways of interpreting speech in relation to its verbal and social context. The place of something said in a sequence of things said, the scene, and the rights and obligations that are recognized as obtaining between participants in

> speech, all may enter into defining the status of what is said.
>
> . . .
>
> To a considerable extent, then, the use of language that is of concern in the classroom has to do with stylistic or social, rather than referential, meaning..."

In a recent NIE sponsored National Conference on Studies in Teaching the panel reported that (p. 1):

> ...We are interested in linguistic forms only insofar as through them we can gain insight into the social events of the classroom and thereby into the understandings which students achieve...the actual (as opposed to the intended) curriculum consists in the meanings enacted or realized by a particular teacher and class. In order to learn, students must use what they already know so as to give meaning to what the teacher presents to them. Speech makes available to reflection the processes by which they relate new knowledge to old. But this possibility depends on the social relationships, the communication system, which the teacher sets up.

The potential contribution of sociolinguistic and ethnographic research has been discussed by John (1973:229), who concludes:

> Theoretical debates...are empty exercises without the support rendered by data gathered in systematic observations conducted by psychologists and by the ethnographic approaches of the sociolinguists. These are enormously useful in depicting those aspects of learning which may be overlooked or minimized by developmental theorists with specific biases..."

Recently, there have been several studies designed with a more descriptive and particularistic approach, integrating into the study of language use such factors as social relationships (Walker and Adelman 1976, McDermott 1976, Miller 1979). The recognized significance of these and other studies has engendered the support of other descriptive research projects on the nature of classroom communication and interaction.

This report presents the findings of one such research project. The purpose of this study has been to investigate the nature of rules governing classroom discourse and social interaction, by analyzing in detail the occurrence of speech and communicative interchanges during "individual work" time over the course of one school year and across five grade levels (nursery through the third grade). Specifically, we wanted to find out how, during "individual work" time, children go about seeking information from their teachers and peers, in such a way that they get the information they seek and in such a way that social relationships are maintained or enhanced. The "locus of observation" (see subsection I-B) that we selected for our investigation is what I have termed a "service-like event." This label may be a bit inelegant, but it has been chosen because it emphasizes the positive aspect of the event (satisfying immediate communicative needs of students) rather than the negative aspect (interrupting the teacher's current activity).

The following are examples of this classroom "event" taken from video recordings of a second grade classroom. Both of these interchanges occurred during a period of individual work time during which many children were individually involved in writing a description of how a camera works:

(1) Child approaches teacher with a manila folder, stops a few feet away.

The teacher looks up from her work and asks, "What word do you need help with, C?

Child: Lens

Teacher: Lens, L-E-N-S (turns back to her work).

(2) Child comes running up to a teacher who is sitting on a desk while students are working individually:

Child: I can't do it, Ms. H. I can't do it (while approaching)

Teacher: What can't you do, D?

Child: I can't do it. I can't write it all down.

Teacher: O.K. Go get your folder and I'll help you with it. (Child goes and gets her folder; teacher works with child several minutes; ends by taking dictation from the child and writing in the folder for the child.)

In principle, this event may involve either teacher-child or child-child participation. An example of a child-child service-like event is the following:

(3) Individual work time on a third grade classroom. G has just finished one assignment and walks over to where the assignment sheet is posted.

G: (to self) Better do my dictionary work. (scratches head and scans room, walks over to E., who is working alone nearby)

G: Elizabeth, can I borrow your dictionary?

E: Yeah.

G: (looks down at E's work, does not leave table area)

E: "You can use it" I said. (without looking up)

G: Where is it?

E: (looking up at him, slightly quizzical expression)
It's in my tray

G: Oh. O.K. (leaves table)

G: (finding E's tray and pulling dictionary out)
Dictionary work for me.

However, because the child-child social relationship is so highly variable (depending on their relative academic status, age, gender, friendship relationship, other arenas of coinvolvement (after school, etc.)) from one dyad to another and because it is so structurally different from the teacher-child relationship in terms of classroom dynamics (the teacher being a focal point for all the children), the child-child type of service-like event has not been the focus of our investigation.

With either teacher-child or child-child service-like events we reasoned that it was the teacher who is basically responsible for establishing the social environment that makes such learning communication possible. Accordingly, we anticipated that, in our description of the nature of the rules for communication, it would be useful to incorporate a notion of managing ritual equilibrium (Goffman 1956, 1971, 1976 and Merritt 1976a) among the classroom participants.

The specific focus of the service-like event for our descriptive investigation of classroom interaction seemed especially appropriate for a number of reasons.

First of all, very little descriptive work has attended to individual work time activities and virtually none have investigated the kind of service-like "event" that we set out to study. In general, a teaching situation can be thought of as involving both conveyance resources and query resources. Whereas most studies of classroom discourse have focused on conveyance resources, our study has focused on query resources.

Conveyance resources are those resources which the teacher has for conveying information -- including level of language development and devices for focusing attention. In school, a teacher usually spends a good deal of effort in teaching children his/her instructional formats. Children must learn to focus their attention in accordance with formats or they will miss the instructional information that is being conveyed there. (An all too familiar occurrence, for example, is a teacher's saying "You don't know the answer because you weren't paying attention".)

Query resources are those resources which the student has for confirming already conveyed information and/or asking about new instructional information. In school, a child must learn how to ask for confirmation and for new information. Open classroom situations and periods of individualized instruction are especially dependent for their proper functioning on students' acquisition of these query resources (see John op. cit.). Though query resources puts the focus on what the students do, it should be kept in mind that query formats are set up and reinforced by the teacher.

Most studies of classroom discourse rules have focused on whole group or small group lessons, and teachers' development of these formats as conveyance resources (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975, Griffin and Humphrey 1978, Mehan 1979). Inasmuch as "lessons" are the times during which most teachers focus their instructional presentation this is as it should be. However, recent evidence (Cahir 1978) has suggested that "transition time" between lessons or other organized activities is frequently used very effectively as a teaching time, and studies in multicultural settings have reported that the most effective participant structures are sometimes not those involving the teacher as the major focus of a group session (here, see the several Indian studies reported in Cazden et al. 1972, Erickson and Mohatt 1978).

Secondly, the focus on service-like events may have implications for the theoretical contrast between formal and informal education (Scribner and Cole 1973). Most often formal and informal educational practices are defined in terms of setting variables, so that education in formal settings like schools is called formal education whereas education in non-formal settings like "home" is called informal education. Yet another variable would seem to be that derived from mode of instruction, such that within the home setting direct instruction from caretakers (see Miller 1979) is more formal than that provided by opportunities to observe and sometimes "help" accomplish a task. Just how to characterize instruction that occurs in classrooms using a lot of individualized instruction time is not clear. In some cases we might want to say that academic instruction that occurs during whole group lessons is more formal than that which typically occurs during service-like events, On the other hand "one on one" tutorials, whether set up by the teacher or initiated by a service-like event, are probably the clearest instances of the direct instruction model at work.

Thirdly, service-like events are of interest to the study of classroom management. Though research in classroom management has not specifically focussed on the kind of incident I have called service-like event, some studies have begun to approach the issue of classroom management in terms of teacher behaviors that are responsive to child behaviors (see especially the recent work of Walter Doyle and associates). Further, a recent study by Tikunoff and Ward (1979) reported that when teachers were involved in research design and collaboration the topic the teachers chose for investigation was (teachers') coping with distractions in the classroom. Though the focus of our investigation has been away from the negative perspective of "interrupting", service-like events do fit into some general category of "interrupting teacher's ongoing activity".

Fourthly, the study of classroom communication during individual work time highlights social meaning. Because children's interaction during this "time" involves initiation of verbal exchange, a child must learn discourse rules which regulate "conversational accessibility" -- that is, the degree to which one individual is accessible conversationally to another (note that management of conversational accessibility is analytically prior to turn-taking which is relevant once the conversation is underway). This, of course, depends on the situation and the relationship or relative status of the particular individuals (e.g. child-child, teacher-child).

Management of conversational accessibility involves control of the mechanisms by which individuals signal their availability and successfully enter into a state of verbal interchange. It is a notion derived from a model of social interaction in which conversational prerogatives are viewed as a form of territoriality (Goffman 1971), and which has proven useful in the analysis of adult service encounters (e.g. buying something at a store, Merritt 1976a). Managing conversational accessibility is one of the major ways in which individuals monitor the ritual equilibrium between themselves and other copresent individuals.

It should be noted that management of conversational accessibility applies generally to situations of conversational language use, and thus is not new to the child when he enters school. Rather, the school presents him with new situations (and status relationships) in which he must manage. Before school, the ritual brackets "Hi" and "Bye-bye" are among the first things most children are taught (see Gleason and Weintraub 1976); and almost every parent has anecdotes about teaching a young child "not to interrupt" (i.e. recognize that the parent is not conversationally accessible) when the parent is talking to another adult or is "on the telephone".

Whenever a child initiates an exchange, then, the timing and the form (whether verbal or non-verbal) he/she uses to do so, automatically carry an element of social meaning. The social meaning derives from the "value" of the initiating move as appropriately attentive to the rules for managing conversational accessibility. Accordingly, a child must acquire strategies for "remedializing" the initiation of conversation in certain situations. For example, when a child approaches a teacher for help, he/she may see that the teacher is engaged in some other activity and that he/she will be in some sense encroaching on the activity. The child will usually, then, adopt one of several strategies for remedializing the intrusion: For example, he/she may approach and "wait" nearby to be addressed first by the teacher; or he/she may use a verbal routine like "Excuse me". The teacher's social interpretation of the child's choice of strategies may vary according to the teacher's background, the age or cultural backgroun of the child, or in terms of what strategies have been talked about or taught in class, perhaps as politeness formulas (Ferguson 1976), and which have been adopted informally (with attention to variation across grade levels and over the year).

This focus on managing conversational accessibility also dovetails with other approaches to the study of social meaning. For one thing, we can note that managing conversational accessibility involves attention to the general question of when, with respect to the activities of one's interlocutors, it is appropriate to talk. This is, of course, the same *general* question that is addressed by the study of turn-taking (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974, Duncan 1976, Humphrey 1979). For another thing, we can note that strategies for remedializing initiating often involve "request" behavior. This may remind us that the analysis of the social meaning of linguistic forms in terms of their pragmatic "value" -- as "requests" or other speech acts -- has been a major approach to the study of the social meaning of language use (Bruner 1975, Clark and Lucy 1975, Dore 1975, Ervin-Tripp 1976, Garvey 1975, Labov and Fanshel 1977, Sadock 1974).

During the last decade, advances in linguistics, sociolinguistics, philosophy, anthropology, sociology, psychology and artificial intelligence have provided important models for the description of what linguistic forms mean when they are used. One of the significant contributions of this work has been the recognition that "meaning" of language in use is not a simple matter of assigning semantic interpretations to individual sentence units; this provides us only with referential or literal meaning. Rather the "meaning" or "function" or "significance" of language in use always involves non-referential or conveyed or social meaning. Much of the linguistic research has focused on the relationship between referential or literal meaning and non-referential or conveyed meaning (Gordon and Lakoff 1971). However, this approach by itself has made minimal use of the notion of context. Among researchers using a more ethnographic data base (e.g. naturalistic observations of actually occurring events) it has been widely recognized that the relationship between linguistic form and social meaning is not constant but rather is mediated by or *drawn from* context.

We know, for instance, that a given form (such as "have you finished your math?") may not always have the same social intent (e.g. in one case it may be a request for information, while in another it may be a request to stop some disturbing activity (and get back to math)). We know also that a given social intent (such as getting a teacher's attention) may, at situationally different "times" be accomplished with different forms (e.g. sometimes raising the hand is appropriate, and sometimes moving physically closer to the teacher and calling his/her name is appropriate).

That we observe variation in the relationship between linguistic form and social meaning does not, of course, mean that variation is completely random and haphazard. Although we cannot predict which form will be used in a given instance, recent studies reveal that there are identifiable factors that are systematically related to how we interpret the use of a form in a given instance.

One way of conceptualizing these factors is in terms of the notion of context. In general, four "levels" of context can be identified:

a. Local context (what acts occur immediately before or after the one being considered?).

b. Event context (what kind of an event or interchange is the act a part of? e.g. a group lesson or service-like event).

c. Setting context (what is the setting in which the event takes place?, e.g. a nursery level classroom in an elementary school).

d. "Mutual biographical" context (what is the past history of interaction between the participants and what kinds of things do they know about each other?).

In our study, local context and event context, both of which are structural, were carefully considered. Setting context has been noted in terms of the five grade levels (and the five points in time for each grade). Mutual-biographical context was not investigated, but the role relationship of teacher-student has been considered.

Another way of conceptualizing these factors is to note what differences there are between the linguist's "traditional" sentence-unit characterization of language (Chomsky 1965) and a characterization of language use. There are at least four interrelated major differences:

a. Language use involves a model of social interaction (see Goffman 1964, Fillmore 1976). This means that there are not just words, but people saying words.

b. This has consequences for the designation of analytical units. The notion of sentence is not adequate for a model of social interaction. Minimally, the form unit must be some kind of action -- utterance or preferably "move", which has a formal "shape" in terms of words and/or gestures (see Goffman 1976). Though sometimes this unit for designation of occurrences or "tokens" is referred to as a speech act or communicative act, usually the notion of "act" is reserved as a function unit, to designate the interpretation of "type". Both form and function can be defined at various "levels", of course. We can look for specific forms like "O.K." and "Thank you", and we can look at certain "form-types" like question and "playback" (Merritt 1977). We can look for function in terms of act-type or illocutionary force (e.g. "request for information", "request for action"), or in terms of "event slot" (e.g. the "initiating" move, "response to initiating" move, etc.).

c. The existence of two levels of function point to the fact that sequencing of units must play a role in the interpretation of any unit as a particular act-type (for a detailed discussion of this, see Merritt 1976b, McTear 1979)

d. Finally, the impact of this act-type interpretation on the "overall social meaning" of a move must be reckoned in terms of its effect on the ritual equilibrium between participants. It is in this sense that act-type sequences like "request compliance" and "apology plus account" are "functionally equivalent". That is, if in response to "Can I borrow your dictionary?" one either complies "Sure (handing it over)" or apologizes and accounts for non-compliance, "Sorry, John's using it", then one has acted so as to maintain the balance of ritual equilibrium between the requestor and the requestee. The two responses can be said to be "functionally equivalent in terms of ritual equilibrium" or perhaps "ritually equivalent".

A fifth reason to study service-like events is that service-like events involve both social meaning and referential meaning. Although we know that children often ask questions in order to get social attention, in many cases it seems clear that the child is motivated to initiate an interchange in order to get substantive academic information (see, for example, (1) and (3) above). Service-like events, then, provide an ideal focus for observing the interdependence of the social and referential functions of language use in the classroom.

These five reasons are not intended to be exhaustive. Other important advantages of studying service-like events include the prevalence of questions (the patterns of which are of general sociolinguistic interest; see Churchill 1978, Goffman 1976, Goody 1978, Holzman 1972, Merritt 1976b, 1977, Mishler 1975a, 1976a,b), and the fact that the discourse processes in service-like events seem to have a continuity with those of events that take place outside the school (for example, requesting "help" from someone at home and requesting service from someone at a store or place of business).

In fact, a further consideration in the original design of the project was based on this continuity. This study has been carried out using primarily the mode of descriptive analysis developed in Merritt (1976a) for the analysis of adult service encounter events (e.g. buying something at a store).

The reasons for this were twofold:

a. The mode of analysis was designed to integrate the concerns of several different approaches to the study of language use, and had been implemented in the description of a particular communicative event (service encounter).

b. The particular communicative event which was described using this mode of analysis seems to be structurally very similar to the service-like event of the classroom.

Basically, the model of investigation involves the following: locating a structurally identifiable event (service encounter, service-like event during individual work time); describing the event in terms of "stages" and "normal sequence" of act-types; identifying form units that recur and form-type units that recur, and then examining each for the event-slots in which it occurs and the act-types that it represents; examining event-slots (and subevent-slots like "response to question") for what forms and form-types occur in them; qualitative analysis that looks for patterns of co-occurrence between formal items and functional items (including act-types); qualitative analysis that examines these patterns in terms of the "conversational work" they do and their "function" in terms of maintaining ritual equilibrium.

Finally, it should be reiterated that the purpose of selecting the service-like event as a locus of observation was not to reify it as an isolated entity but rather to use it as an entree into studying teaching as a linguistic process. We wanted to find out how children initiate and follow through on activities that they are interested in. We wanted to investigate the ways in which periods of individualized instruction time facilitate the maximizing of individual cognitive growth. We wanted, further, to be able to characterize our findings using parameters that could describe other classroom events and other settings. Again, we anticipated that the notion of managing ritual equilibrium, analytically applied, would be useful - in distinguishing social and referential meaning on the one hand, and in integrating verbal and non-verbal means on the other.

B. Methodological Comment: On the Notion of Locus of Observation

In a recent issue of Anthropology and Education Quarterly Dell Hymes put forth an argument for the use of what we might refer to as "linguistic methodology" in the qualitative analysis of the processes of education:

> "...Any consideration of qualitative methodology in the study of human life must take into account the success of linguistics in establishing a sector of study that has a methodology that is at once qualitative and rigorous." (1977, p. 92)

This line of thinking is one that I have attempted to follow in developing my own research objectives. As a linguist, however, I have at times been acutely aware of the face that, although linguistics has developed a rigorous methodology for qualitative investigation, the discipline has not always embraced the pursuit of investigating natural human interaction. In the course of the service-like event project I have addressed other linguists with this issue, and argued more specifically for the viability of looking at communicative events using "linguistic methodology":[1]

Perhaps one of the most engaging theoretical concerns in linguistics over the past few years has been the concern for tying advances made in the formal description of syntactic and phonological aspects of language with what is known about the semantic character of language, and, more generally, that of language use. Though many linguists might argue that issues of the "semantics" of language use (sometimes referred to as "pragmatics") fall outside the scientific domain of "linguistics proper", most would agree that one of *the* most salient evaluation metrics for comparing any two grammatical descriptions is provided by a demonstration that one of the two descriptions is more easily tied to known features of language use. It seems, therefore, entirely appropriate that a few linguists might turn their attention more fully to the issues involved in conceptualizing units, levels, or other primitive element-types that can be used to describe the social use of language; and, in particular, apply themselves to the task of taking the principles of traditional linguistic methodology and argumentation, rather than the traditional boundaries of linguistic data, as primary givens.

That is the tack I wish to take. I shall not be concerned here with social use in the sense of phonological or syntactic variants that have social value by virtue of their correlation with speaker style or social group identification; that is an important area but one which has already received considerable attention and resolution in terms of fruitful directions of inquiry. Rather, my concern is with an area that is receiving increasingly more attention but for which there has so far been little resolution - especially within linguistics - as to fruitful directions of inquiry: This is the social use of language in terms of the "embeddings" or "interpreting" of language use within a framework of social interaction; that is, taking as a "data-sensitive starting point" what all of us native speakers of language know--that the "interpretation" or "pragmatic value" or "socially significant semantic value assigned" of any bit of spoken language depends on, and is derived from, the social interaction of which the language use is a part (as well as, course, participants' knowledge of the language as an internally consistent code).

With gross oversimplification for the sake of brevity, four current lines of inquiry into this area can be pointed to and characterized in terms of inadequacy:[2] (1) Speech act analysis-borrowed essentially from philosophy and carried out by philosophers and linguists; elucidating in many ways but impossible to relate adequately to larger units; context becomes "possible context" and "possible world" and ultimately fails to capture the true creativity of language as it is used in everyday life. (2) Discourse analysis-largely a linguistic and even literary enterprise; solves some of the speech act problem of dealing with larger units by starting with one, but still is focused primarily on written texts rather than actual speech and dialogue, in particular. (3) Conversational analysis-carried out primarily by a group of ethnomethodologically inclined sociologists who have chosen to study the social order through analyzing conversation: their attention to the details and regularities of spoken language is recognized by most linguists, but a nagging question concerns their claims about the generalizability of the rules and units across situations and cultures (in many ways this is the same sort of question that is often asked of the work on conversational maxims put forth by the philosopher H.P. Grice). (4) Event analysis - that which frequently follows out of the concern of linguistic anthropologists to be sensitive to cross-cultural and cross-situational differences through use of the "ethnography of communication": is sensitive to many of the inadequacies in (1) through (3) in terms of its data base, but also frequently turns out to yield either no very formal description of the event or else no very generalizable (to other events or situations) description.

The point of this argument, however, will not be to dwell on any of these inadequacies. For one thing, having dabbled a bit in all four of these areas I have fully shared and share in all the attendant inadequacies as I see them. Further, and more to the point, each of these approaches has to be seen as establishing some useful entree into discovering generalizations about language use in situations of face-to-face interaction.

What I do want to suggest, however, is that there is another very obvious entree-one that I have argued is quite fruitful and one that has been shamefully neglected, especially within linguistics. That entree is simply to look at naturally occurring instances of language use in situations of face-to-face interaction, using as a focus for data collection a single social setting or type of social setting within which a functionally defined communicative event serves as a locus of observation.

I would like to suggest that this kind of "raw empirical" enterprise is fruitful not just as a sociological endeavor but also as a linguistic endeavor. The idea that one might get useful insights about the pragmatic interpretation of specific linguistic forms by looking at the natural occurrence of those forms in human social interaction seems in one sense a trivial truism. But the fact that linguistics as a field has chosen to expend most of its efforts in the investigation of pragmatic interpretation by developing theoretical constructs like speech act theory, performative analysis, and conversational implicature - based primarily on native speaker intuitions about isolated sentences in hypothetical contexts - gives pause.

It is enough to cause one to wonder if, in fact, it is not just a case of benign neglect but rather a negative bias. If so, it may be philosophical in origin or historically derived, possibly rooted in some basic preconceptions about what constitutes a data base that is "properly linguistic"[3] or, it may simply be based on a lack of understanding of how such an entree might be implemented. Having now been involved in studies of language use in two kinds of particular social situations (service encounters between servers and customers in stores and other public service areas, 1976a, and service-like events in primary school classrooms), I am convinced that this kind of approach is fruitful, and that, minimally, it should be viewed as complementary to other approaches. I am also convinced - based on numerous informal conversations with colleagues - that there is a general "fear" and/or lack of understanding about dealing with the data of social interaction.

On the "fear" side many linguists are wary - and rightfully so - of being overwhelmed by, or mired into, a myriad of contextual features. This is especially true if one considers language use in social interaction at large. Nor is the obvious remedy to this overwhelmingness - the study of language use in a particular situation - a viable solution to those who are wary. For those who are wary all that can be gained by such an approach is the analysis of a single situation; the event under analysis is viewed as a highly specific analytical unit that is basically of little interest for a general theory of language use. This view, I feel, is quite unfortunate and one that I shall argue against. The source of the problem, I believe, is in the failure to treat the event under analysis as an instance of an empirical implementation unit - something like what I shall discuss here as "locus of observation."

First of all, the notion of locus of observation implies a principled rationale for looking at a particular phenomenon in order to find out something about the larger thing of which that phenomenon is a part.

My own rationale for having selected the service encounter is roughly as follows: When I first began to be interested in language units larger than the sentence I was immediately drawn to dialog discourse rather than text or monolog discourse. I think this was because the most interesting question to me about language concerns its functioning as a vehicle for communication - that is, "When one person says something (or writes something, for that matter) how does the recipient or hearer of that saying understand what is being said?" The issue of the speaker's intent is, of course, a sticky one. But it has always been my feeling that we do not have much access to speaker's intent except when we, ourselves, are the speakers; while, on the other hand, we do have access to hearer's understanding since as analytical "overhearers" we have essentially the same "information" or "data" available to us as does the hearer or addressee. The primary thing we overhearers may not have equal access to is what might be called "mutual biographical" context (What is the past history of interaction between the participants and what kinds of things do they know or assume about each other?). Instances in which it can be established that recipients and analytic overhearers have essentially equal access to this mutual biographical context can thus be seen to be of special methodological interest. Accordingly, instances in which "a stranger talks with a stranger" might provide crucial evidence of how language serves as a communication system (or so it seemed to me). Like most investigators I was looking for an entree into the phenomena - a way of slicing out certain complicating factors that needn't be dealt with, a way of eliminating some variance - especially the kind that might turn out to be random (as mutual biographical context essentially is).

Looking at talk between strangers thus seemed a good strategy. At the same time, I had come to the study of language through the door of social science and anthropology in particular. I was committed early on to a fully descriptivist empirical approach to language, grounded in language use, and Dell Hymes' notion of the ethnography of communication (1964) was especially intriguing to me. If, however, I wanted to study language use in English-speaking "mainstream" American society - as I did - it was not at all clear how to proceed. The early formulation of the ethnography of communication was grounded in the holistic study of an entire speech community and, William Labov's (1966) study of New York City as a speech community notwithstanding, that unit did not seem to me directly accessible in the case of any modern highly-urbanized highly mobile society.

It seemed, rather, that a reasonable starting point might be to look at speech events or communicative events as repositories of norms of language use for the "speech community". In terms of finding out something about the speech community as a whole it seemed that looking at speech events that occurred in public "accessible-to-anyone" settings would be especially appropriate.

This led to a consideration of a very frequently occurring, public, accessible-to-anyone event - that captured by looking at situations of focused interaction between a "posted" server and a second party ("customer") who invokes the server's participation as an operator of a "serving post". That was essentially my rationale for initially selecting as a locus of observation the event I have called "service encounter".[4] It also quickly became an object of study in its own right.

In the case of the service-like event study, my rationale was much less global and ambitious. I simply wanted to find a "place to look" in the classroom that would tell me something about how the exchange of academic information occurs outside the highly structured format of group lessons. In order to look outside the group lesson format there must be a consideration of how "conversational accessibility" is managed - that is, what are the mechanisms that teachers use, and that students have to learn, about "who is in" and "who is out", who can talk and who is expected to be listening. In sum, the "service-like event" that I have selected as a locus of observation is not just an interesting kind of thing to look at. It is primarily a "way in" to find out something about what goes on in elementary school classrooms.

Secondly, the notion of locus of observation implies that no prior assumptions are being made about the "tightness" of the structure.

In general a locus of observation will be only loosely defined in terms of a form-function correlation; otherwise there is no source of variation to observe and analyze. It is true, of course, that linguistics is committed largely to the discovery of invariant rather than variant relations. But we all know that invariant relations do not apply at the level of predicting the exact linguistic forms that people say to one another in everyday life. Rather, invariant relations have to be discovered as the mechanisms for making sense out of what people actually say when and where to whom. In conjunction with this lack of constraint on tightness of structure a particular speech event need not be seen as a full-fledged analytical unit nor as the primary object of study.

The notion of locus of observation speaks to the investigator's interest in using an empirical focus to locate units or dimensions of analysis within the empirical focus and to "anchor" these elements in terms of the identifiable characteristics of the empirical focus. The use of a speech event as such a locus is important because it involves not only a particular setting and a specifiable aggregate of co-present individuals, but it also has a functional orientation that is grounded in the participants' interactive accomplishment of the function. In the case of the service encounter, for example, there is an orientation to the transaction of a service. In the case of the service-like event there is an orientation to the exchange of academically relevant information.

Typically, of course, this functional orientation lends itself to a normative structure of the whole event in terms of an expected sequence of linguistic or communicative forms or form types. As I have argued elsewhere (1976a,b) this normative sequencing is important to the pragmatic interpretation of a particular utterance as conveying a particular illocutionary force. The specifiability of the structure of the whole event (or at least its proper initiation) is thus an important interactional resource for the participants in the event.

For the analyst, specifiability of overall structure makes for an elegant analytical unit. This is, of course, the basis for event analysis within the ethnography of communication. However, to the extent that any given type of speech event does not have a very specifiable structure it is problematic as an analytic unit. In line with this it can be noted that researchers operating both within and outside the framework of the ethnography of communication have expressed concern over the aplicability of speech event analyses to the not-so-highly prescribed everyday happenings in modern urbanized societies like our own (Sherzer 1978, Brown and Levinson 1978). Some of this concern can be resolved, however, if we view these everyday speech events not as analytic units that require the same kind of tight form-function definition that can be provided for highly ritualized events in "less complex" societies (e.g., Irvine 1974), but rather as general loci for observation in which elements can be located within and/or across types of events. In this view speech events with less predictable structures are seen not as "defective" analytical units, but rather as sources of data for investigating generalizable aspects of language use. They provide an empirical base from which to observe the co-variation of form units and function units not at the level of event.

In order to implement this, the first thing the analyst must do is to look to see more or less globally what is going on in the event he/she has chosen to look at. Then, keeping this in mind, he/she must identify "pieces" of language or "types of pieces" that are "significant" and that can be characterized in such a way that additional occurrences or recurrences can be identified and analyzed.

For example, one can locate a particular linguistic form that occurs both within the event and in other contexts as well. One can analyze the function or use of the form as it occurs within the event and thereby make predictions about its use in other natural settings (which can be investigated at a later date). Examples of this are my analysis of the use of word "O.K." in service encounters (Merritt 1978) and the analysis of the use of the particle "sh" in classroom lesson events by Frank Humphrey (1978, 1979).

Another kind of linguistic element that can be explored is "form-type." The major example of this is the form-type unit question (See Merritt 1976b, Mishler 1975). The general notion of "form-type" is a loose one. Here I simply intend some unit, occurrences of which can be identified with some criteria based on linguistic form. Thus, to the extent we can identify the occurrences of questions on the basis of formal properties (e.g. conventional interrogative word order) the unit "question" is a form-type unit. Other possible form-type units I have used in my own work involve formal identification of occurrences based on some notion of "repetition" of actual lexical items in adjacent or near adjacent utterances: "replay" (see 1976b and section III-C of this report) involves repetition by the speaker of a previous utterance that he/she has him/herself made: "playback" (see 1976a, 1977b) involves repetition by the speaker of a previous utterance made by his/her interlocutor.

A third kind of element that can be looked at is that of "event-slot" - for example, "initiating move", "response to initiating move", "customer start". "Event-slots" are defined with respect to the particular event under analysis, of course.

And, of course, one can look to see if any of these formally defined units turn out to be describable as particular act-types like request for action or request for information, and, if so, how they are distributed.

It should be pointed out, however, that the most interesting things one can learn from this kind of data - and that one cannot really get at with non-naturalistic data - have to do with sets of related facts which index the multiple functioning of conventionalized strategies for managing interaction. These sets of related facts are available for analysis only by looking at sequences that can be compared and described as somehow functionally similar on "external grounds" (e.g., these were all sequences taken from service encounters).

As has been pointed out by Erving Goffman (1969, 1971) a crucial primitive element for such analysis of language use as social interaction is the concept of "move":

I cannot provide a really tight definition of "move". Initially it should be noted that, although what is linguistically described by the term speech act is often coterminous, it would be a mistake to equate them. The notion of move is firmly tied to changes in the ritual equilibrium (see Goffman 1971, Merritt 1976a) between participants. Though the notion may be operationalized in the significance of goal-directed interaction as an act that has "significance" in terms of moving the interaction in the direction of the goal I believe this is too limited. In general, it seems right to say that whatever actions of participants are interpreted as "officially ritually significant" may be interpreted as moves, the concept of "official" having to do mainly with channels used and precision of reportability (in general, words are always official whereas gestures may or may not be), and the concept of "ritually significant" having to do with whether or not ritual equilibrium is affected.

Finally it should be noted that a move is not analytically identical to a speaking turn. For instance, a speaker may answer a question, and then proceed to ask a question back, both at the same turn at talk. Here I would want to say that he had taken a (single) turn at talk, but had made two moves.

In summary, then, my argument has two basic prongs:

1. I suggest that a fruitful line of inquiry into the study of language use ought to involve looking at naturally occurring situations of social interaction; and that if it is not clear how linguistics can systematically explore such a data source, then linguistics should expend some effort in trying to tackle the problem.

   I have tried to demonstrate one approach to systematically exploring the richness of everyday language use. My approach of using social-interactionally "definable" situations as entrees subscribes to an implicit model of language use that is (in the terminology of cognitive psychology and artificial intelligence) "top-down" rather "bottom-up". An issue, of course, is how to empirically investigate language use in its natural settings without getting overly boggled and bogged down by how far up is the "top". One must make operational decisions about how to make a systematic entree into the vastly interconnected stream of human social behavior.

In studying the loosely structured occurrences of everyday life in complex societies like our own I suggest that it may be quite useful to have an understanding that when a *particular speech event type* is selected for that entree, it *need not be conceptualized, initially, as anything more than a locus of observation*. The analytical units and/or parameters will derive from *within* that locus, and, ideally, occur across other event types as well. In other words, the systematic study of language use in naturally occurring situations of social interaction *can* be implemented. The procedures that I have partially presented here are ones that I have used not only in this study of service-like events, but also in previous work, and they are to some extent present also in the work of William Labov (1972, 1977), Frank Humphrey (1979), and other sociolinguists.

Further, these "implementation procedures" are, I would argue, in the best tradition of the qualitative analytic methodology that is the stock in trade of general linguistics.

2. I would like to argue that this line of inquiry into the nature of language use should be implemented and pursued to a greater extent within linguistics. It should be pursued, first of all, simply because it is there and it can be done. Secondly, it should be pursued because it allows us to find linguistic regularities that we would otherwise have little access to, happenings which I feel linguistics as a discipline must be responsible to.

There is no doubt that there are claims about normative regularities we linguists may come up with simply by thinking about language use, but even these ought to be verified (and would be made stronger by virtue of being so verified) by the indices of pragmatic interpretation that are provided by real people responding to each other in naturally occurring social interaction. Nor should we squirm too much when actual language use comes out looking pretty strange, as it does in the following example from our classroom data.

"Whatn't I did do". Second Grade. December. Mid-morning. (Children are working individually on the same math assignment. Teacher G is sitting at one table and checking work or tutoring as children solicit her help. David has just gotten her help and is returning to his seat at a nearby table with two other children, Lynn and Kate.)

David: (sits down and begins working)
David: (turns to Lynn and thrusts his left arm and fist up in a victory gesture) I'm smart. (half-sung)
Lynn: You're smart. (Lynn points to David) (half-sung)
David: I'm s:mart. (kicks his chair back and stands and throws both arms up on the second 'smart', retaining his earlier melody.)
Lynn: You're smart. (with earlier melody.)
David: (puts his left foot up on his chair and starts to stand up even higher. Then he apparently thinks better of it and drops his right leg back down on floor.)
Lynn: (surveys his paper) (2.1")
Lynn: How come you're sma:rt
| | | |
("matching intonation" of "you're not so sma:rt")[5]

→ Lynn: (points to his paper) Look, you didn't do this.
Lynn: (plunks her pen down in front of her as if the matter is settled and turns back to her own work) (2.6")
→ David: (staring at his paper) What? (1.3")
→ : What did I do?
→ : Whatn't I did do?
Lynn: (taps his paper) This and this.
David: I'm doing 'at.
Lynn: Oh.
David: Sh:eesh::. (long hiss)

For one thing, we can usually account for the strangeness of such examples, and in so doing learn more about underlying regularities.

In this example, for instance, it's fascinating to observe that David's formulations of his query to Lynn about what might be wrong ("What? - What did I do? - Whatn't I did do?) seem to be reformulated on the basis of Lynn's (lack of) response and a reorientation to the *semantically* correct "directional" (positive or negative) force of the query ("Look. You didn't do this." - "What? What did I do? (semantically incorrect direction) Whatn't I did do? (reformulated for semantically correct direction)"). The "semantically reformulated" query (Whatn't I did do?) is, of course, *grammatically* *in*correct, but there is no further reformulation to correct for this (with lexical reordering something like "What *didn't I* do?") The fact that, *pragmatically*, the grammatically incorrect form "worked" in the interaction, whereas the semantically incorrect form did not, seems to provide an important kind of evidence for speculating about when and why reformulations get made.[6]

In this example it's also interesting to speculate about what this example might have to say about syntactic rules for "negative attraction" in English (see Labov 1972, Prince 1974). Or to speculate about placement of focussed "new information--here the negativeness of, or reversal of semantic directional force of (or of negative polarity of) the underlying presupposition: The question What-did-I-do? presupposes I-did-something ("that I *should* *not* have"); What-not-I-did-do? presupposes I-"failed to"/did *not*-do-something ("that I *should* have)).[7]

For another thing, such examples keep us alive to the fact that *actual* language use, *often* - far more often than so many of linguistics' made-up examples of *possible* language use - provides poignant glimpses of the truly creative capacity of language for human communication.[8]

In this section on the possible application of linguistic methodology to naturalistic data I have argued that this might be facilitated by the notion of locus of observation. In concluding, I want to indicate ways in which the general thrust of this methodological perspective has broader implications.

The study of communication in classroom settings has begun to occupy a unifying role in the arena of interdisciplinary research. It is unifying because the classroom provides data for so many different research interests, including at least the following: education, language development, child development, general properties of social interaction. But whether applied or theoretical research interests are involved it is important to take seriously the special characteristics of classrooms as compared with other settings from which data might be gathered.

For example, researchers are aware that every classroom constitutes its own verbal community (Phillips, Dunhan, Brebaker & Butt, 1970; Stubbs and Delamont, 1976) with more or less continuity between it and other classrooms, and with more or less continuity between it and other verbal environments that the classroom participants areat other times involved in (such as home). Further, it has recently been recognized that some kinds of discontinuities between classroom environments and other environments can lead to "speech participation problems" within the classroom (Cazden, John, & Hymes, 1972; Florio & Shultz, 1979). It has become clear that discourse in the classroom is a special kind of happening and is expected to be, as evidenced by the fact that teachers design and use special discourse formats in teaching lessons (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Griffin & Humphrey, 1978; Mehan, 1979) that they expect students to know or learn (see Cazden, 1979, Heath, 1978). It has also become clear that children in primary classrooms come to school already knowing certain norms and routines about using language and already having certain expectations and strategies for adapting to new situations (e.g. the current classrooms) and/or new interlocutors (see Ervin-Tripp & Mitchell-Kernan, 1977; Snow and Ferguson, 1977; Hiebert & Cherry, 1978; Shuy & Griffin, 1978; Miller, 1979; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1979). The issues of "preparatory learning" and "interference", of "transferring" a format or a complex cognitive processing skill from one situation to another, and how this might be accomplished, are exciting ones; and they are central to this new area of inquiry (See Scribner, 1977; Cole, Griffin & Newman, 1979; Florio & Shultz, 1979; Cook-Gumperz, Gumperz, & Simons, 1979.

Yet, almost as a counterpoint, these very issues, and what we know about them across settings, suggests the need for further refinement in our understanding (and our tools for analysis) of what goes on within a setting (See Erickson & Schultz, 1977; Kendon, 1978; Goffman, 1979).

While study of the special characteristics of a particular setting should lead us to a particularistic description of that setting, it should also lead us to a more detailed conceptualization of social interaction and communication that can be applied generally. In a similar way, study of the special characteristics of a particular activity or participant structure in a classroom should lead us to a particularistic description of that locus, but it should also lead us to a more detailed conceptualization of classroom interaction generally.

This report aims to show how some special characteristics of individualized instruction periods in early primary classrooms cause some general features of primary classroom interaction to be exaggerated (as compared to "whole group" or teacher-led periods of instruction), and to be thus quite visible. Hopefully some of our findings will be useful to the study of classrooms generally, and perhaps even to the general study of social interaction and the natural use of language.

NOTES

[1] This line of argument was addressed to the Chicago Linguistic Society in April 1979. A version of this presentation has since been published in a volume of their proceedings (see Merritt 1979a). For the impetus to actually specify in this way what I take to be the methodological significance of the notion "locus of observation" I am especially indebted to Stephen Cahir.

[2] As will be reiterated at several points later it should be understood that I am not claiming that any of these lines of inquiry should be dropped, but rather that there needs to be more cross fertilization of existing schools of thought (for a recent attempt at a synthetic overview see Coulthard 1977) as well as a more serious consideration by linguistic theorists of other than "traditional" sources of data. By characterizing these four lines of inquiry in terms of their inadequacies (rather than in terms of their value) we can see more precisely just what kinds of "gaps" exist in the input to linguistic theorizing about language use. (Since the focus here is not to dwell on the limitations of these approaches but merely to use them to point to the need for other lines of inquiry, I shall make no attempt to cite the literature in these areas except to cite a single volume in each area that may be considered either seminal or exemplary. (1) Cole and Morgan (eds., 1975), (2) Halliday and Hasan (1976), (3) Sudnow (ed., 1972), (4) Bauman and Sherzer (eds., 1974).)

[3] The concern with delimiting the concerns of linguistics as a discipline is, of course, an old one. For example, there is Bloomfield's (1944) famous discussion of primary, secondary, and tertiary responses to language; Voeglin and Harris' (1947)

discussion of the scope of linguistics; and Chomsky's (1965) famous delimitation in terms of data that reflects on competence versus data that reflects on performance.

[4] For a fuller discussion see Merritt 1976a and section III-B of this report. It should be pointed out that the term "service encounter" makes use of a wholesale borrowing of Erving Goffman's notion of "face engagement" or "encounter" (1963:88-89).

[5] Since we are not able to acoustically demonstrate this "intonational matching" at this time, we can not now make any strong claims about this intonational gloss for the purposes of analysis. The reason I am pointing it out is because it *is* so striking (when one hears the recorded segment) and seems worth trying to analyze at some future time. A line of thinking I would like to pursue, for instance, is the following: The syntactic sequence of lexical items is interrogative (why-are-you-smart?); and interrogative form is more "polite" (see Brown and Levinson 1978) than a statement or assertion ("You're not so smart"). By using the lexical sequence of the interrogative form Lynn's utterance - move "officially" subscribes to a polite mode of conveying what seems to be clearly a "put-down". Yet by delivering the lexical sequence with the known (this is my presumption, of course) intonational pattern of formulaic '*X* not so *Y*',

$$\text{"}\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{You're}} \\ \underline{\text{She's}} \\ \text{etc.}\end{matrix}\quad \text{not so} \quad \begin{matrix}\underline{\text{smart}} \\ \underline{\text{great}} \\ \text{etc.}\end{matrix}\right\}\text{"},$$

the "meaning" and ritual significance of the move is unofficially, but quite adequately, conveyed. One might say, in fact, that it was superbly conveyed in a spontaneously creative use of language. And David seems to display an attunement to the possible ritual intent ("put down") of Lynn's query (Why are you smart) when he ends the sequence. David uses a form that seems designed to "ritually match" the tone of Lynn's suggestion (You're not so smart.). David closes the interchange with "Shees:::: (long hiss)".

[6] Though we would not want to argue that this example is typical, it is not a singular occurrence of this communicational phenomenon in our data. We have noted several instances in which clearly non-grammatical forms are used (which are not "typical" of the speaker's "syntactic style" or "level of competence") and are not replayed in grammatically correct reformulation (that is, there is no self correction). It seems to me highly relevant that in all these cases pragmatically, the grammatically incorrect form "worked" in the interaction.

We will discuss later (see section III-C) in this report what seems to be the opposite phenomenon: A child makes an utterance - move that does not pragmatically work (that is, there is no uptake) and so replays it. Sometimes the replays are simply repeats, but there is often a shift to reformulated replays when there is no uptake. And it seems, further, that uptake is more likely when there is a reformulated replay than when there is a simple repeated replay.

[7] There is, of course, a considerable literature in the role of given and new information in discourse, some of which deals with the notion of presupposition. See, for example, the recent pragmatically oriented work by Ellen Prince (1978, 1979), the more psychologically oriented work of Haviland and Clark (1974), and the classic syntactic work of Halliday (1967).

[8] Once again, however, let me say that this is not an argument which proposes that everything that is relevant to linguistic theory can be gleaned from observing natural language use. I

wish to reiterate that I am not suggesting that linguists drop other current lines of inquiry, but rather that they be aware of the limitations of each and of the value of looking at natural language use in overcoming some of those limitations.

II Discussion of Data and Procedures

A. Introduction

B. Procedures

A. Introduction

The data upon which this investigation is based consists of an extensive collection of videotapes and audiotapes which were recorded in a single primary school over the course of the school year 1975-1976. This was done through a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York to Peg Griffin and Roger Shuy at the Center for Applied Linguistics. This grant provided the funding for carrying out a major study of the acquisition of children's functional language competence in a primary school setting. The results of that study have included not only analysis (see Griffin and Shuy (eds.) 1978), but also teacher training "protocol" tapes, and the massive collection of data now housed at the Center for Applied Linguistics, upon which this study is based. Currently a secondary project for dissemination of these protocol tapes is being carried out at the Center for Applied Linguistics by Roger Shuy, Stephen Cahir, and Ceil Kovac through an additional grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

The data was collected in a Washington, D.C. area private elementary school, grades Nursery through Third. Composition of students was basically ethnically honogeneous, all English-speaking, and of middle-to-upper-middle class backgrounds. The resultant naturalistic data bank consists of 437 half-hour videotapes, with a corresponding number of backup audiotapes. Teachers and children in grades Nursery, Kindergarten, First, Second and Third were recorded interacting in a wide range of everyday grade school activities: classroom whole group and small group activities (both with and without teachers present), individual work activities, reading groups, free time activities, playground, lunch and resource (dance, physical education, music) activities. At all five grade levels, situations were recorded which exhibit various levels of formality, teacher involvement, orientation to academic tasks, procedural and silence requirements, etc. Each classroom had between 16 and 20 children, with one female teacher in grades kindergarten through third, and two teachers in each of the nursery classrooms. Other teaching staff included resource teachers and occasional aides (student teachers).

The data was collected at five points in time during the school year:

a. The first week of school (mid-September, 1975). 55 videotapes were recorded.

b. The second month of school (late October, 1975). 101 videotapes were recorded.

c. The fourth month of school (early December, 1975). 120 videotapes were recorded.

d. In mid-winter (late January, early February 1976). 147 videotapes were recorded.

e. The eighth month of school (mid-April, 1976). 106 videotapes were recorded.

Two classrooms per grade level (Nursery through Third) were recorded in during each of the five data collection periods. The following table shows the number of videotapes (with audio back-up tapes) retained at each grade level after tapes with technical difficulties were discarded. This is the total naturalistic data bank:

Grade Level	Teacher Number	Taping Period a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	Total Tapes Per Classroom
N	1, 2	7	6	12	8	10	43
	3, 4	6	4	14	12	10	46
K	5	4	8	3	13	10	38
	6	4	8	12	15	12	51
1st	7	4	6	11	12	12	45
	8	3	7	11	8	10	39
2nd	9	3	7	13	9	13	45
	10	4	7	12	10	8	41
3rd	11	2	9	14	10	11	46
	12	1	9	10	13	10	43
TOTAL		38	71	112	110	106	437

Since Merritt was not involved at all in the original data collection project, since Humphrey and Cahir were each involved with only certain grade levels, and since this study began two and a half years after the last recording of data, this research project-unlike most descriptive analytic studies of naturalistic data-in some ways falls into the category of "secondary analysis". Obviously, from the standpoint of investigating any particular research problem this has serious limitations. As an ethnographer, the investigator has been acutely aware at times of her distance from the data collection. She would like to have been there when these "slices of reality" were carved out for research posterity; she would like to have had the enthnographer's prerogative of shifting the focus of data collection as pre-analysis dictated. On the other hand, she has had the intellectual constraint that the data available to her as researcher have not been really much greater than those available to the research audience that the findings will address. And that may be good. Further, in terms of the tremendous cost of video data collection, it seems imperative that researchers learn to make use of already collected data banks as much as possible.

In this particular endeavor, the investigator has been extremely fortunate in having available probably the most favorable situation for secondary analysis. The three major contributing factors are the following:

First of all the extensiveness of the collection of data has provided a very real naturalistic contextualization. And because of the location of the site school within the Washington metropolitan area it has been possible to visit the school, talk to some of the taped teachers, school administrators, and even some of the taped students - "three-years-bigger". And it has been reinforcing to the investigator to walk into the school for the first time and recognize teacher voices as well as faces from the videotape viewing.

Secondly, the direction of the original data collection - for which Peg Griffin was primarily responsible - was done with extreme care and attention to the future viability of the video and audiotapes as research data. The original data bank also includes a very valuable tape indexing system, and hand-recorded ethnographic records made during the collection period. This has provided a means by which the general nature of the interaction on any tape can fairly easily be referenced. For example, the index report for each video tape has a corresponding index report form which has the following information noted: (1) size of group videotaped (whole class, dyads, triads, etc.), (2) participants: only children, children and teachers, (3) a rough characterization of the topic and nature of the verbal and nonverbal behavior, (4) names of participants entering and leaving the video field, (5) cross-references to other videotapes recorded at the same time or to the audio back-up, (6) grade, teacher, date of taping, time of day, indexer, equipment used, etc. (7) technical quality of the video and audio recording.

Thirdly, it has been possible for this study to have access to and include the input of a large number of the professional staff who worked on the earlier project and participated in the data collection: Frank Humphrey is the major research assistant for this project; he was involved in data collection at both the kindergarten and third grade levels. Stephen Cahir worked with us as research associate in the early months of the project. During that time we concentrated on the nursery level data for which he had been primarily responsible in the Carnegie project. Donna Christian, who was similarly responsible for data collection at the second grade level, has worked closely with Merritt very effectively as a staff (CAL) consultant. Roger Shuy has also been available as an "inhouse" consultant. In addition, two consultants from the earlier study have been consultants for this study - Courtney Cazden and Jeffrey Shultz. Though not officially involved in the project two other person-resources have informally been available as ties to the earlier project. One is Cecilia Freeman, who worked on the first grade data collection, and who has continued at C.A.L. on other reading research projects. The other is Peg Griffin, who worked on all phases of the data collection, but primarily with the first grade, also. Though no longer in geographical proximity to the Center for Applied Linguistics she has been very generous with her "telephone time", especially in the early stages of the project.

Other continuities have been provided in this study as well. Erving Goffman, who was a primary source of guidance for Merritt's earlier work on service encounters, has been a consultant for this project. And providing continuity with the aims of educational research, the project has had the consultant services of Rebecca Barr, with whom no one at the Center for Applied Linguistics had previously worked. Without the availability and input of these two people and of all those just mentioned who participated in the earlier project, this study would have been very different in character.

There is one final point to be made about the collection of data for this project. It would be a mistake to think that the service-like event project has had no direct involvement with data collection. Because of the extensiveness of the data bank from which we have worked and because of the variety of situations and participants that were recorded, a great deal of time has been spent simply locating pieces of data relevant to the analysis of service-like events. In a lot of ways this is data collection, too.

With respect to the number of tapes finally selected, we have to admit to being both a bit too ambitious in terms of what we thought we might be able to handle, and a bit under the spell of (what Merritt has dubbed) the "Hans Klodhopper syndrome". For those who may not recall the Scandinavian fairy tale, Hans Klodhopper was a carefree young man who delighted in picking up and taking with him things that he found along the way. He kept things that seemed ultimately worthwhile although apparently useless to his immediate goal (of winning the smile and the hand of a certain princess). In the end his habit turned out to be the basis of his success. This was because he was later able, through his resourcefulness in using the found items, to greatly amuse the princess who had been bored by the traditional riches brought to her by other suitors.

As to whether our efforts will be similarly successful remains to be seen, of course.

B. Procedures

Although 437 half-hour tapes constitute an enormous corpus, many of these could be eliminated without actual viewing. As mentioned, the original data bank includes a tape indexing system. This was developed and applied to the entire naturalistic corpus in order to provide a means by which the general nature of the interaction on a tape could be quickly referenced. Each tape has a corresponding index report form which has the following information noted:

a. Size of group videotaped (whole class, dyads, triads, etc.).

b. Participants: only children, children and teachers.

c. A rough characterization of the topic and nature of the verbal and non-verbal behavior.

d. Participants entering and leaving the video field.

e. Cross-references to other videotapes recorded at the same time or to the audio back-up.

f. Grade, teacher, date of taping, indexer, equipment used, etc.

g. Technical quality of the video and audio recording (e.g. "blossoming," static noise, etc.).

The initial step toward developing the analytic corpus was to separate from the entire naturalistic data bank those tapes which were likely to include instances of service-like events. This included videotapes that recorded any of the following four situations, as described on the tape index report forms:

a. Classroom individual work activities, where the teacher is closely assisting the children on the videotape.

b. Classroom individual work activities, where the children on the videotape must approach the teacher for assistance.

c. Classroom reading groups with the teacher, where children working elsewhere in the classroom may approach the teacher for assistance.

d. Classroom free time activities, where children may approach the teacher for assistance.

Activities such as whole group lessons or meetings, whole group reading sessions, resource activities (music, dance, etc.) playground activities, and lunch activities could be eliminated from consideration through inspection of the index report forms.

Because we were interested in collecting examples from different times over the school year we decided to inventory the entire corpus of tapes. Tapes were collected by the original project for five grade levels, in two target classes for each grade level, at five different taping periods over the school year. Thus there were 50 different "taping units" as in the table below.

Note that teachers and their classrooms have been assigned to the first ten letters of the alphabet. We have chosen this practice rather than selecting actual pseudonyms throughout this report in giving examples. In referring to the children we have assigned actual first name pseudonyms to each child in a classroom unit. We have made no effort to choose different pseudonyms for all ten classrooms, and thus some of the pseudonyms have been used in more than one classroom unit. This is, of course, typical of children's first names in schools anyway.

GRADE___ TEACHER__________ CLASSROOM SERVICE EVENTS (5407): VIDEOTAPE INVENTORY

Page_______

VIDEO TAPE NUMBER	R=RESOURCE	PRE-VIEW CODE	5407 USE CODES	SITUATION TYPE AND/OR COMMENTS	DATES AND TIMES	CAMERA SHOT TYPE	(5=hi;1=lo) VIDEO/AUDIO QUALITY	AUDIO TAPE #	ETH-NOG.	TAPE INDEX	TRAN-SCRIPT

Grade levels and Classrooms:

Nursery: A/B

Kindergarten: C/D

First: E/F

Second: G/H

Third: I/J

TAPING PERIODS:

1	2	3	4	5
A/B	A/B	A/B	A/B	A/B
C/D	C/D	C/D	C/D	C/D
E/F	E/F	E/F	E/F	E/F
G/H	G/H	G/H	G/H	G/H
I/J	I/J	I/J	I/J	I/J

A form was developed to be filled out for each "taping unit" - to list all available tapes for that unit and to specify for each tape a number of criteria to be used in selection (see attached form). These inventory forms were filled out for all 50 units. In coordination with filling out these forms videotapes were selected for previewing.

For several weeks following the inventory Merritt, Humphrey, and Cahir conducted extensive joint previewing at all grade levels, without making any final selection of segments to be selected. During those previewing sessions extensive notes and some preliminary transcription was carried out, and Merritt led discussions of the tapes - indicating the kinds of incidents, behaviors, and participation structures that were of major interest. Also during this time period, there was a lot of discussion among the researchers about what certain classrooms were like, what impressions of teachers were, what problems were encountered in actually recording the classrooms, and other miscellaneous features that helped a great deal in contextualizing the recorded data.

At the time of original recording two video cameras and one or two audio recorders were used in each classroom. Sometimes the two cameras would be focussed on the same classroom activity (usually with one at close range, "tight", and another from a distance, "context"), thereby giving two "views" of the same event. But at other times the two cameras may have been focused on two different parts of the room, thereby giving only one "view" of any event. Also, sometimes a firm decision had been made to keep a camera stationary and record whatever came into view, whereas at other times a child or activity was followed by the camera. There was also variation in the use of microphones. Sometimes a centrally located (e.g. in the middle of a table or hanging from the ceiling over a group circle) microphone was used and sometimes individual students (never the teacher) wore wireless microphones. Needless to say, some kinds of events were more easily retrieved audially with wireless microphones and some were more easily retrieved with centrally located microphones. There was thus some variation in the general technical quality of the tapes and the extent to which certain tapes were useable for analysis of service-like events; even though the activities on tape might show a reading group and that the teacher is engaging in service-like events with several students, the camera angle or the microphone might be so situated as to not show the soliciting children or voices might not be audible.

Once the orientation period of the project was completed, we began the second phase. During this phase at least one researcher examined tapes for every taping unit. Since there had been a separate inventory form made out for each taping unit, there could be previewing and preselection of segments based on each inventory form. An effort was made to find suitable segments for analysis for all 50 taping units (i.e. segments representing both classrooms at every grade level for each of the five taping periods) In a few cases there were no suitable tapes available, but in most cases there were several tapes to be reviewed. All candidates tapes were at least partially reviewed or screened. A good deal of this was accomplished during the joint orientation sessions, but significant amounts of screening was done individually. This screening proceeded by "grade-classroom" units (e.g. 2H: grade 2nd - teacher H). For nursery this was done by Cahir, for kindergarten and first grade by Humphrey, for second grade by Merritt and consultant Christian, for third grade by Humphrey.

Once this preliminary screening had been done, the investigator and at least one other staff member began preparation of analysis tapes for that grade-classroom unit. Cahir was involved in the creation of the first set of analysis tapes "cut", those of the nursery level. All other grade-level tape sets were constructed by Merritt and Humprhey.

It was always necessary to have two people in order to synchronize starting the machines, make locator notes, etc. Constructing analysis tapes involved the use of two video-tape decks and monitors to copy from the original tapes onto new blank tapes only those segments to be analyzed for this project. This was perhaps the most critical phase of project procedures, as the copying represented essentially final selection of segments to be analyzed from the original corpus. We found that we were, in essence, film editors - making decisions about where the stream of behavior (already parsed by the original videotaping) might best be cut so as to least disturb any significant contextualizing features. This was already pre-analysis.

Furthermore, it was necessary - for information retrieval purposes and to facilitate future analysis - to exercise great care in recording the location of each segment in the original tapes; to make brief linguistic ethnographic, and mnemonic descriptions of each segment; to locate and copy additional "views" (i.e. when more than one camera was originally used to film a situation at the same time, thereby yielding two "concurrent" video-tapes) whenever available; and to assign appropriate sequential codes to each segment (e.g. Segment NB-18x indicates Nursery grade level, teacher B, 18th segment for the entire grade classroom unit, first of two possible views (indicating further that there must be also NB-18y showing the second view); Segment 1F-15z indicates 1st grade level, teacher F (recall that teachers have been "lettered" consecutively A-I for the ten classrooms), 15th segment for the entire grade classroom unit, with "z" indicating that there is only one view of this segment). This information was all coded and hand recorded by Merritt at the time of analysis tape construction.

This phase of project proceeded thus at a necessarily slow and careful rate. However, it should also be noted that a fair amount of pre-analysis was involved in this part of the work.

Once all the analysis tapes were constructed, large portions of the data were transcribed in detail. It was originally hoped that all analysis tapes could be transcribed, but this was not possible for a number of reasons. First, the nature of finally selecting and editing the tapes was more time consuming than anticipated - in part because more data was selected than had been planned. Secondly, the fact of having more data meant that a lesser portion of it could be transcribed in the same time. Thirdly, it was originally planned that much transcription could be done by secretarial support staff or temporary research assistants, but the detail and quality of transcripts needed made this alternative unfeasible. Both Merritt and Humphrey made transcription and analytic notes during video-tape viewing. However, with only a few exceptions, all final transcripts were made by Humphrey.

Actual analysis, then, was based on three things: direct video viewing, analytic and descriptive notes made during viewing, and transcripts. The total number of half-hour tapes and segments (of varying lengths) is indicated in the table below:

		Segments	Half-Hour Tapes
Nursery	A	28	4
	B *	15	4
Kindergarten	C	31	6
	D	25	4
First Grade	E	25	6
	F	17	6
Second Grade	G	17	6
	H	15	4
Third Grade	I	46	7
	J	55	6
		284	53

The nature of the data we have, of course, does not allow us to make any claims about statistical representativeness. Had we been recording the original videotapes from direct classroom observations with a view toward investigating service-like events, it might have been possible to observe and keep records of all the service-like events that took place. This, in turn, might have given us a pretty good sense of just how representative the video-taped events were of a particular classroom (on a particular day).

Nevertheless, the sheer quantity and range of our data, we think, warrants consideration. For all the ten classrooms studied examples were selected from five different points in the school year, except for the one noted with an asterisk in the table (for which selections could be made at only four points in the school year).

Finally, it should be pointed out that the major goal of the research has been to conceptualize parameters for describing the dynamics of classroom interaction. These parameters ought to be applicable to every segment of interaction, but, as was pointed out in section I, what parameters turn out to be very visible depends on the locus of observation. We wanted to look at service-like events in the data available to us not only because we thought that would tell us something about individualized instruction, but also because these particular teachers were known to be experienced and effective managers in non whole group teaching situations.

III. Service-Like Events In Context

A. Some Objectives and Demands of Individualized Instruction

B. The Non-Verbal Solicitation and Matters of the Intertwining of Verbal and Non-Verbal Modalities

C. The Verbal Solicitation and Considerations of Conversational Access, Engagement, and Vectors of Activity.

D. More on Modality: Dual Processing, Slotting, Modality Splitting, Modality Focus, and Inferencing; And A Note On Ritual

A. Some Objectives and Demands of Individualized Instruction

Most elementary classrooms are comprised of one teacher and many children. Much of the social interaction therein has traditionally been "whole group", with the teacher as the focus of the lesson or activity. However, most elementary classrooms are now designed such that part of the day is spent in an alternative participation structure. In recent years, in response to the transient and heterogeneous nature of many school populations, and in response to the schools' desires to match every child's aptitude with appropriate levels of instruction, many elementary classrooms are conducted so as to provide individualized instruction to the students for at least part of the day. Thus, a class of 18 to 30 students may be divided into three or four reading groups, each of which will meet with the teacher separately at different times. Another part of the school day may involve the teacher's giving a brief lesson to the whole group and then asking the children to work on an assignment individually or in small groups, with the teacher typically working with one individual or group on that assignment.

When the structure of classroom participation changes away from whole group this places new communicative demands on both teacher and students. In particular, teachers must orient to having one primary focus of activity and many secondary ones (all the children not involved with her/him). The students must orient to either managing without the teacher's help or effectively soliciting the teacher's attention in a way that is minimally disruptive to the teacher's primary activity. Our study is an attempt to fill part of the gap in our knowledge about how effective teachers structure their actions and their responses to children's actions in these situations.

Thus the initial and primary focus of the investigation has been to look at service-like events, one type of event that seems to occur in almost all primary classrooms when the classroom activity structure is other than "whole group": During these periods of individualized instruction, the teacher will ordinarily be working with one or a small group of children. Children who are not working with the teacher will ordinarily be assigned to individual or group tasks that are to be accomplished without the teacher's constant supervision. It frequently happens, however, that one or more of these children will find a need and/or desire to approach the other-wise occupied teacher and solicit his/her attention. The child may simply physically approach the teacher, or s/he may physically approach and then say something, or s/he may say something as s/he is approaching. The teacher may then attend to the child immediately, negatively sanction the child for "interrupting" and then attend to his/her query, negatively sanction the child for "interrupting" and refuse to attend to his/her query, acknowledge the child with a deferral, acknowledge the child but require that s/he come to another position (closer) and replay the request, ignore the child for an extended period of time-possibly until after he/she has left the teacher's proximate space-and later seek him/her out, or (which seems to rarely happen) "refuse" to be distracted from teacher activity and not subsequently seek out the "soliciting" child. If the soliciting child is not immediately attended to the child may leave, stay near the teacher and "wait", or stay near the teacher and make verbal solicitations to which the teacher must decide to reply or not. Here are a few examples from our data:

(1) Nursery level. September. Afternoon.

(T is gathering a group of children around a table. They have not yet begun their activity)

→ Elliott: (walking around table to T) Mrs. B-1 ((will you tie)) my shoe?

← T: Do you want me to tie your [shoe right now?]

John: [((unclear))]

Elliott: (nods)

T: (to Elliott) All right.

T: (to John) Wait just a minute, because Elliott wants his shoe tied.

T: (bends to tie Elliott's shoe)
(to Elliott) And let's see, can you do-,
you did your first knot already. ((   ))

Elliott: ((Yeah))

T: ((Good)) (finishes tying shoe)

Elliott: (goes back around table to sit down)

(2): Kindergarten level. February. Mid-morning.

(T has just dismissed a whole class meeting to decide who will work with what materials. It was announced that those children (including Harvey) who have had a lot of time with the blocks already will have to do something else today. Children get up from sitting on the floor and begin scattering to various corners of the room. Martin stands up from where he has been sitting right beside T, but several other children have already approached her).

→ Martin: (to T) Can I work at painting?

T: (sets a boy's monster doll up on a shelf; T besieged by children. (1.8"))

→ Martin: (to T) I'm gonna work at painting. (reaches up with his right hand and pulls on T's left forearm. (0.6"))

→ Martin: (more rapidly) I'm gonna work at painting. (T sends Jennifer and Caroline S to the Lost and Found. Harvey approaches T and announces loudly that he's going to work in the block corner. T: (to H) "You may not go in the block corner now. You can go later."

Caroline B says something to T. T looks over and sees that H has gone into block corner anyway and she steps around the waiting Martin. (13.6"))

T: (walking toward block corner) Harvey?

→ Martin: (to retreating T's back) Can I paint?
(T approaches Harvey and Robert and begings talking to them. (3.2"))

→ Martin: (following behind T) Ms. D., can I paint?
(T doesn't respond to M, but instead talks to Robert and Harvey at length, telling them that they have already had their turns in the block corner and to do something else. (23.1"))

Martin: (starts to walk away from T, then turns and addresses her as she stops talking to R and H) Can I paint?
→ Ca-, Ms. D, can I paint? =

← T: (to Martin) Yes.

Martin: (half-volume) = Can I paint?
(Martin walks over and gets a painting apron to wear.)

(3) First Grade. December. Mid-morning.

(T is standing at an otherwise vacant table. She looks at her clipboard as she sits down and calls out):

T: May I have Tracy, Jeff, and Paul, please.
(Tracy approaches T's table from back of camera shot. (3.5"))

Tracy: (to T) Bring our books?

T: (in response) Let's play a game of 'Speed Racer' today.

((Paul)): 'Speed ((E))racer'?! ((I guess we need our pencil.))
(Jeff and Paul drag chairs up to the table. T turns to a nearby shelf and gets the materials for the game. (7.0"))

Paul: (to T) Do we need our pencils? (T's head off camera; T may shake head 'no', Paul and Jeff sit down, while Tracy is roaming the room, apparently putting something away. Sophia walks past Jeff to T, who is getting out the 'Speech Racer' cards. (4.9"))

Jeff: (mock sinister voice quality) ((uhh)), Speed Ra:zor (adjusts himself in his chair).

(→) Sophia: (steps up to T) (2.9"))

→ Sophia: (holding paper out to get spelling) 'Mummy'. (sic) (1.3") (From across the room, the voice of an adult, probably a teacher, can be heard.)

Adult: First Name? ((unclear))

T: (looking toward door) Thank you!

Jeff: (to T) ((Where's)) 'Speed Rai:der'?

(←) T: (takes Sophia's paper.)

→ Sophia: (to T) 'Mummy'

Paul: (to Jeff) Racer.

(1.1")

T: (to group) Who are we missing?

(Tracy comes up to the table. (1.1"))

Jeff: (to T) Tracy.

Paul: (to Tracy) We don't need our pencils =

Jeff: =Can I see these for one ((minute)), Mrs. Exxxx? (Jeff reaches over and apparently touches 'Speed Racer' cards.)

→ T: (1.4")) (writes on paper for Sophia)

Jeff: (continuing) The last one? The last ((one))? (Paul leans across the table to look at 'Speed Racer' cards)

Sophia: (leaves table area)

(4) Second Grade. September. Mid-morning.

(T is working with a small group of children on a geometric puzzle activity. Ann, David, and Lynn are with her. T has just started to work with Lynn and has been interrupted by a complaint about how many items (that are resources for the activity) other various children have been taking.
T seems to be trying to get back to her involvement with Lynn).

Melissa: (comes "on camera")
Ken: Everybody has ((three)).
T: (straightens up and turns to boys) I-, no, ((one)), I said each one of you could have one.
((David)): Well, everybody's been taking ((unclear))
[((unclear))
T: [Well such is life.
(→M) Melissa: (attempts to approach T from David's left, but then comes around to T on D's right.
T: (leaning down to Lynn) [((O.K.)) ((unclear))
→M Melissa: [Mrs. G?
(←M) T: (without looking up) Just one second ((and)) I can help you. But I'm helping ((Lynn)) right now.
(→K) Katherine: (walks "on camera" and approaches T, standing beside Melissa.)
→K Katherine: (to T) Umm can I start on my second one now? My third one?
(←K) T: (to K) Umm, did you ((call each other for a discussion))
Katherine: (to T) ((Mmm-huh)).

←K T: (nods)

Katherine: (goes "off camera")

((There were other voices at this time.))

T: O.K. Lynn. Remember, we decided that (1.8") this is, is eg-, three of those, are, equal to one of the others. Alright. Now watch this trick...

T: (continues to work with Lynn; much of their interaction is inaudible)

Mary: comes on camera and goes up and stands by Melissa for a few seconds. She subsequently sits down in circle around T and is later drawn off camera.

T: (continues to work with Lynn) (Many children are in transit around the room.)

(→M) Melissa: (Continues to wait by T for quite a while)

Teddy: (approaches T, stands by Melissa; after a few seconds he reaches down and takes a pencil and walks away. (1'29"))

T: (to Lynn) ((Now, put your name on there)) ((unclear)).

Ken: (has been standing behind T, watching. He appears to tap T on the back.)

T: (turns to Ken and listens to him for a second. Then she seems to laugh and then goes=)

→M Melissa: Mrs. G.?

T: (to Ken) = Shh::::.
(throws her hands as if she has appreciated a joke or comment Ken provided.)

→M Melissa: (steps over some stuff on the floor and bends down directly beside T's ear. (2.6"))

$\underset{M}{\rightarrow}$ Melissa: Mrs. G? (1.3") Can I read my book?

T: (may be either talking softly to a girl behind Lynn, or taking a few seconds to process the question. (5.5")

$(\underset{M}{\leftarrow})$ T: (to M) O.K., did you-, did you find all the pieces ((for those)) ((unclear))?

Melissa: (to T) Nope.

T: (to M) Well I found one on the floor, ((ahead of the)) ((unclear)). ((Would you, go down and see if)) ((unclear))

(Noise in the room.)

Melissa: (standing) Then can I read my book?

$\underset{M}{\leftarrow}$ T: (nods) Yes, then you can read your book.

Melissa: (walks off camera.)

(Segment ends.)

(5) Third grade. December. Late Morning.

(T is involved with two girls, Jennifer and Angela, in a reading session. There is no other teacher or aide in the room to help supervise children working on other activities).

Jennifer: (reading) 'Do you mean the ocean and volcanoes can:not hurt us?' ((unclear)) are not afraid?' asked Kino. 'No', his father replied. 'I did not say that. 'Ocean is there',

Jennifer: (looking up at T) Can we read two chapters? (1.3")

T: (to J) Just keep reading. We'll read as much as we can.

Jennifer: (reading) 'Ocean is there, and volcano is there.
It is true that [one] any day,'

T: (to J) Hunn-unh.

Jennifer: '[On] any day, ocean may rise into, storm, and
volcano may burst into flame. We must accept
this fact, but without fear. We must say
'Someday, I shall die.' It does matter, whether
it is by ocean or by vol-, volcano,
(Several voices from elsewhere in the room increase in volume, as Jennifer finishes.)

Jennifer: ...or whether I grow old or weak.

T: (to J) O.K. Just a minute.
(T straightens up in chair and looks across
the room.)
(Voices continue. (1.8"))

T: Peter? Peter? I think you could use a softer
voice, because, we're having a hard time, listening
to each other, because of the-, the, volume of
your voice.

off-camera: Ms. J, can we read the book ((later [on))?]

off-camera: [((You] might
[get another] thing.))

T: (to off camera group) [Shh::.]

Angela: (turns around toward group. (0.8"))
It's a [good] book.

T: [John?]

T: (to John) Get to work. Right now.

T: (resumes reading posture, turning back to table
and leaning forward to J and A.)
O.K.

(Jennifer continues with her reading turn for some minutes with T monitoring and offering occasional feedback)

Jennifer: (reading) ..."When the day was over he was so tired he fell asleep over his supper."

T: (to Jennifer) O.[K.]

Jennifer: (reading) ['But',]

T: Angela?

(→) Tommy: (At this point Tommy, who has been standing a pace away from the table, takes half a pace toward the table and raises both arms from his side slightly. (o.9"))

Angela: (reading) 'But there were days when Gia also was too busy to help.'

(←) Tommy : (turns and walks off-camera)

Angela: (continues) Word came to ((unclear)) the school of fish was passing through the channels.

(→) Tommy: (reappears on-camera and walks over near T's desk, 'loiters' a few feet away, and then turns and stands waiting at the rectangular reading table, at one of the sides next to the teacher)

Angela: (reading) And, then, every fishing boat made haste to sail, out of the bay. (continues reading).

T: (writes something on the tablet.)

(↠) Tommy: (slaps his right side, then swings his right arm back and forth in a sort of punching motion, (40.5"))

T: (At this point Angela has read to the end of a page. T flips the page, then looks up and scans the room, apparently noticing a loud voice from the background.)

Jennifer: (turns book page)

Angela: (turns book page.)

(←) T: (looks over at Tommy)

Tommy: (wiping his mouth with his right sleeve. (1.7"))

→ Tommy: (to T) ((The houses are [ruined.))]

Angela: (reading) ['Sometimes-]

Tommy: (Tommy holds hands open and shows T several small objects he is holding in his hands.)

← T: (to Tommy) That's fine.

→ Tommy: (pointing to objects in left hand) These?

← T: (tapping one of objects in his left hand) That's not good, but these-, (taps object in left hand and one in right hand) that one and this ((one)) are O.K.

Angela: (has stopped reading, stares up at blackboard and scratches her lip)

Tommy: (turns and walks over to the door, opens it, leaves, and closes it behind him.)

T: (scans room, which has background noise of children's voices. (1.0"))

T: (looking across room) Shh::::. John(Last name) xxxx? Please. Albert?

Albert: (off-camera) Yeah?

T: (to Albert) A little softer voice, please. (T holds up left hand, moves index finger and thumb toward each other as a 'diminishing' gesture.)

T: (resume reading position) O.K. ((people)), I'm sorry.

Angela: (reading) Sometimes, if it were not sea-time or harvest, Kino went with Gia, and his father.

The inevitable possibility of differential distribution of these teacher responses among particular children in a classroom, ironically, again raises the question of equity within educational settings that make use of individualized instruction. This means that there is an important need for understanding not only service-like events, but also the participatory and communicative demands of individualized instruction time generally.

In this section I want to lay out a conceptual framework for contextualizing service-like events. What this turns out to be, of course, is a view of the basic parameters of classroom interaction that relate to individualized instruction. This is necessarily very complex despite its inevitable incompleteness. The section is developed by beginning with a summary presentation of the basic model and parameters of classroom interaction that I have arrived at. This is more dense and abstract than desireable, but as portions of the analysis are elaborated in the following sub-sections, and as the reader reflects on the examples given, hopefully the abstract notions will become more concrete.

We can start with the basic facts that the primary classroom involves many children, whose major other locus of activity has been in their homes with familiar caretakers, now supervised day after day for several hours by one (or occasionally two) teacher who, in Barr and Dreeben's (1977) terms, has taken on the "responsibility of the central goal of schooling - the creation of individual student learning"...(p. 152, italics mine).

The teacher is thus immediately confronted with four major interrelated tasks, only one of which might always be referred to as "teaching proper". These are (1) achieving a sense in each child of belonging through social participation, (2) achieving a sense in each child of belonging through activity participation and task accomplishment, (3) striving for equity in the allocation of resources external to the individual child (e.g. space, use of objects, opportunities to talk and be listened to by others, time with the teacher, etc.), and (4) directing the allocation of resources internal to the individual child (what to attend to, what means to use to accomplish a particular goal, etc.). This last task of directing children's attention is critical to children's learning by inference. In addition to this, of course, the teacher must provide direct instruction and evaluation of both teacher-initiated and child-initiated activities and products.

Now, for a small child, I think it can be argued that once it is established that the teacher is the focal point in the classroom, the most effective way to achieve a sense of social participation is to be talking and doing some activity with, or in close proximity to, the teacher. This suggests that periods of individualized instruction, as opposed to whole group sessions may put more of a strain on children's feelings as competent social participants, and, indeed, a recent study by Emmer, Evertson, and Anderson (1979) corroborates this suggestion (they have found that, among a sample of effective and ineffective third grade teacher-managers, the most effective ones focussed on whole group activities for almost the entire first three weeks while the more ineffective teachers began individualized instruction periods as early as the first day). In our observations, even the second and third grade children would ask to come and sit at the same table with the teacher even though she was working with other students on a different activity or assignment.

On the other hand, the instrumental goal of schooling is that of individual learner achievements. This consists in large part of a child's being able to read, write, and complete assignments while working on his/her own - that is, without the teacher's direct involvement in jointly accomplishing the assignments, and without talking with anyone. This means that there is somewhat of a conflict between what is natural for achieving a sense of social participation and what is the desired behavioral outcome for individual children.

There is, of course, one thing that mediates this conflict. This is the fact that as time goes on, task accomplishment usually becomes increasingly important for social participation, in that members of the group are expected to all exhibit competence, and the academic standards for competence increase as school goes on (see, for example, Cohen 1979 for a discussion of student's perceptions of other students' status in terms of their ability to read). One of "our" first grade teachers, for example, would occasionally admonish a child with "First grade. This is first grade," reminding them that standards are now "higher" than they were for kindergarten.

Nevertheless, getting children to go off on their own and do work while surrounded by potential interlocutors seems inherently difficult and artificial as a means of accomplishing a sense of social participation. I think it has to be recognized that this is an artifact of the literacy orientation of our culture and our formal educational system (which is not to say that it is necessarily wrong or should be changed; only that this aspect must be taken as something that not all cultures share). The recent discussion by Walter J. Ong in which literacy and orality are contrasted makes this point rather dramatically:[1]

> "...Speech is structured through the entire fabric of the human person. Writing depends on consciously contrived rules.
>
> Moreover, it depends on absences - which amount to the same thing as artificiality. I want to write a book which will be read by hundreds of thousands

> of people. So, please, everyone leave the room. I have to be alone to communicate. Let us face the utter facitiousness and fictitiousness of such a situation, which can in no way be considered natural or even normal."
>
> (1979, pp. 2-3)

In my observations it seems that some children have a much more difficult time than others in balancing the amount of time spent in "real" social participation through talking and joint activity, and "artificial" or "secondary" social participation that accrues through demonstrated competence as an individual learner and task accomplisher. Thus, sometimes when a child is supposed to be working independently without the teacher s/he may instead be doing a lot of "fooling around" or simply listening or watching what other children are doing. To avoid this as much as possible, teachers are constantly looking up from whatever activity they are involved with and monitoring the rest of the room. For every child in the room the teacher has two basic goals (1) to keep the child "in" as a social and task participant, and (2) to facilitate, and ideally maximize, the child's cognitive growth and academic accomplishments.

In the following example from our nursery school data we can see an almost ideal instance of how a child can be dissuaded from joint activity, interested in an individual task, supervised in its execution with only just as much help as is required, end with delight in his own accomplishment, and in the doing learn to share with another child not only the task materials but also the teacher's attention.

(6) "Batikked". Nursery level. April. Early Morning.

(T working with two children doing batiks)

(Wireless microphone on Seth and camera follows him.)

(As camera begins, T is sitting beside Jackie explaining how to make a batik as Seth watches from behind.)

T (to Jackie): All right, [take the ((brush))] ,...

→ Seth : [Jackie?]

T (to J) : ...and make seven strokes. Whatever you do now will stay white. And then we will dip it in the yellow bath. When it dries from the yellow, you can make another number of strokes. Whatever you do then will be yellow. Then we'll dip it in the red. And whatever you do that time, then we'll dip it in the blue. And we'll see what happens each time. All right?

(Jackie leans forward toward the batik materials, but she doesn't appear to nod.(1.1"))

→ Seth : Jackie?

⇝ T(standing up): Jackie, you can go ahead.

→ Seth (to J) : Can [I help you?]

T (leaning over to Seth : [Now Seth,] when you say you wanted to help, a batik is really a very personal thing.

Seth(creaky voice) : Oh.=

T (to Seth) : =But if it's all right with you we could get a piece of cloth that you would like to use.

⋮

(T watches Jackie draw lines of wax for the batik, and talks about it with her. T gets a piece of cloth for Seth to use, and then asks him what size of cloth he'd like.)

T (to Seth) : ...Would you like to do a panel, or would you

like to do a big piece, of a [square ((unclear))]

Seth : (holds outs out and up) [A big piece)]

T (to Seth) : You want to do a big piece, [((unclear))]

Seth : [Yeah but]

Ms. Bl?

T (to Seth) : Let's go over here and [get some ma]terials.

Seth : (pointing at wall) [There's some] ...

Seth : ...stories

(T has started to guide Seth across the room, but she turns and looks where S is pointing. (1.8").

T (pointing) : Yes, those are your other stories,

[but] I have the one you were working on...

Seth : [((Yeah))]

T : ...yester[day in] my hand. (T holds out paper to S.)

Seth : [Yeah.]

Seth : Yeah.

T (to Seth while

she walks away: And I'm holding it in my hand so that we can get back to that story.

Seth (steps up

→ by J) : Can I help you, Jackie?

← Jackie(to S) : No.

Seth (to J) : Why?

Jackie(to S) : 'Cause I don't want you ((to)).

Jackie : (brushes her cloth, (2.5"))

Seth : Oh no:.

Seth : (watches J brush (4.2"))

T(off camera) : Seth can you come here? (from across room)

Seth : Oh yeah. (walking across room to T)

(T shows Seth some cloth and asks him how large a piece he wants. Seth says 'That big" when she extends the cloth and then adds, 'Because I want to make a car'. They continue to negotiate the size of the cloth he wants. T has Seth tear the cloth - T: "It's fun, because it's all right to tear. A lot of things it's not all right to tear..." When he has difficulty tearing the bottom:

Seth (to T) : Can't do it longer.

T : "Can't do it now." Can you think of something that might help you?

Seth : (shakes head 'no')

T (to Seth) : What do you think would help you?
[Try and think about] it for a minute

Seth : [I don't know.]

Seth (to T) : Scissors?

T : Very good. (Extends left hand) Want me to hold it while you get the scissors?

Seth : (hands T the cloth) Yeah.

T : I'll be glad to ((help)).

(Seth walks across room, gets scissors from a storage desk, glances at Jackie's batik as he returns to T. (4.1"))

← Seth(half-sung): Bye::, Jackie.

(Seth returns to T and cloth; they cut the cloth)

T : (holding up cloth) Is that what you want to make?

Seth (to T) : Yeah. A car. That would be big enough for a car.

T(nodding) : It would be big enough for a car.

Seth (to T) : A yellow car. O.K.?

(No audible response from T. (1.6"))

Seth (to T) : No, a colorful car.

(T stands up and starts walking with Seth over to the table where Jackie is using the batik dyes and wax.)

T : All right. [((Now)) if] you want a yellow
Seth : [I-, I-, I-,]
T : car let me tell you something about batiks,
all right?
T : (bends down to inspect Jackie's batik)
Seth : But Ms. [Bl?] (trailing behind T to table)
T : [Oh:,] look at Jackie's design.
[Ahh:.
T : [Ms. Bl?
T : (starting to pick up J's batik) Yes, Seth.
Seth (to T) : But, I want to dip-,
T (to J) : ((Jackie), if you'll put your fingers,
if I get it away from the hot pan then I don't
have to do it any more then you...
T (to J) : [((unclear))]
Seth : [Ms. Bl?]
(T and Jackie seem to be maneuvering the batik. (1.2"))
Seth : Oh Ms. Bl? I want to dip mine in yellow,...
T (to Jackie) : That's good.[((unclear))]
Seth : ..[.red and] blue. I want to
dip mine in yellow red and blue.
T : Oh, those are nice colors to dip in, Seth.
I think that'll be nice if you dip
[it ((unclear))]
Seth : [And I do want]
(emphatically) to do that. I do [so want to,]
T (to Seth) : [((unclear)) has] to dry in
between each shade =
Seth : =Yeah.
T (to S) : All right. Each color.

Seth (hums) : Hmm [mmmm. mmm.]
T (to S) : [All right. Now] here's your piece
You spread it out on the paper.

(T hands Seth his cloth. He spreads it out on the work desk. (2.7"))

T : (sitting down beside him) Now you said something about having a yellow car.
Seth : Yeah, *and* red and blue. But [we have-,
T : [All right.]

(T tells Seth that what he puts wax on first will remain white. T has Jackie hold her waxed cloth up to show Seth what she means. T tells J to put her cloth in the 'dye bath. T stirs dye. T asks Jackie if she needs an apron; J apparently says no. T has J get something to wrap the batik in to dry it and/or an apron to wear (1'6.5"))

⇝ T : O.K. Seth?
⇝ Seth : St[art work?]
T : [How many] strokes are you=

(T sits down in a chair, which wobbles; she says the next three words with high pitch as she gets her balance)

T : =going to make?

(Jackie returns to the table holding an apron. (1.6"))

Seth (to T) : Some=
T (to S) : =Did you plan beforehand what you're going to do?
Seth (to T) : Yeah. (1.5")) ((Just)),

(T watches Seth as he brushes wax on the cloth. Jackie puts her apron on. (4.5"))

Seth : (sub-vocal, to himself) Need a little more,
T (to S) : Some people think about it ahead of time, and I wonder what you thought to yourself. (2.0")
Seth : (Continuing to brush) *I* wonder.

(T watches Seth, who seems engrossed in his task, almost oblivious to T. (4.6"))

T (to S) : I'll leave you ((to work)) (getting up)

(T goes over and helps Jackie put on her apron. Seth continues brushing, then puts down his brush. (19.7")

Seth (loud) : It's rea:dy! (1.5") (soft:) But-, (2.4")
(regular voice) It's ready, but, Ms. Bl?

(T continues helping Jackie with her apron. (2.4")

T : I hear you Seth. I'll be with you in just a minute.

T : (comes over and inspects Seth's batik (3.4"))

Seth (to T) : I made some clou:ds. These are [clouds]
T(enthusiatically:) [Oh::] clouds.

(T and Seth pull the batik off the table. Seth holds it up to the light and shows it to Jackie. Seth tells T it's an 'old type of car'. T tells Seth he can put it in the dye bath after Jackie is through. Seth pulls some extraneous threads off his batik. T helps Jackie with her batik, as Seth holds his batik as if blowing in the wind and says many times, "Windy, Windy. Windy." (1.11"))

T : You're waiting very patiently, Seth. Do you want to do some dictation now [((unclear))]
Seth (to T) : [Yeah.] I want to, dip it in now.

T (to S) : I know you do, but is there something in there?

(T gestures toward dye bath, where Jackie's batik is soaking. (1.0"))

Seth (to T) : Yeah. I know that.=

T (to S) : =to whom does that belong?

Seth (to T) : Jackie.

Jackie : (walks up behind Seth, who is standing by dye bath)

T (to S) : That's right. Did you see Jackie coming to
[do something about it?

Seth (to T) : [Yeah.

Seth (to T) : Oh yeah.

T (to S) : How could you help her?

Seth : (moves over, out of Jackie's way)

Jackie : (moves up to table and puts newspaper on the table) (3.5"))

Seth : I'll wait, Jackie.
(1.1")

T (to S) : When do you want to do ((this))?

(Seth stares at his batik and doesn't respond to T. T holds paper in front of his face. "(3.8"))

T (to S) : When do you want to do that?

Seth (to T) : Umm, after, I dip it in the yellow.

(T walks off camera, apparently to set his dictation down. Seth sings to himself with nasal vowels while waiting for his turn at the dye bath. T at one point crouches down beside him and sings along briefly. T walks off camera. Seth sees Jackie finishing up and asks if she's through. She says she is. Seth proceeds to put his batik in the yellow dye bath while singing 'Dip it in' to himself. (1'14"))

T (approaching, to Seth): Oh, you did it all by yourself. That's
marvelous. I'm so [glad ((unclear))

Seth : [But I have to
get it on the other side.

(Seth flips the batik over. T tips the dye bath to help him soak the batik. T walks off camera.)

Seth : (loud, fishing his batik out of the bath on a stick) I *did* it. Ms. Bl? *Batikked*. (1.6") I'll wait. (Seth hums to himself for a few seconds.)

Jackie : (beside Seth, wraps her batik in newspaper to dry it (25.4"))

T : (approaches Seth and puts her hand on his back)

T : Seth, what do we have to do with it?

(Seth points to the ground. (1.3"))

Seth : Put paper there.

T : All right. Can you put it down until you get your paper?

Seth : (lowers the batik back into the dye bath) (1.2"))

T : Thank you.

Seth : (turns and walks past T (4.2"))

T (to S) : That's good. You know where to find it? (1.3")

Seth : Umm. Uhh. Where?

T : Where do we keep the paper?

Seth : I don't know.

T : Oh. Well you look around and see if you can find a place where we keep it.

(Seth scans the room.)

T : I'd rather you discover it yourself.

Seth : Oh *I* see. Oh.

(Seth walks across the room while saying:)

Seth : Yeah I see. I see.

(Seth bends down and picks up paper (1.1"))

Seth : (mini-strain-grunt) Ugh.

Seth : You know what, Ms. Bl? I:n:, my daddy's newspaper, today, they-,

(Seth spreads his hands away from body in gesture.)

Seth : We saw, a picture of a wha:le. It was a baby
one, and people were trying to get it wet.
And-, was not wet, and they were trying to get
it wet, so it would stay alive.

T (to S) : Oh!. Did it work?

Seth (to T) : I:, don't know.

T : Oh:.

Seth : Doesn't say:. Didn't say:.

T : Could you bring it into
school and we could read it?

Seth : Yeah.

T : Bring it to school tomorrow and maybe we

Seth (bending to put paper on floor) : Yeah.

T : could read about it. ((unclear))

Seth : Put it here?

Seth (in response to teacher's suggestion) : Yeah.

T (to S) : Well you do need newspaper down there if it's
going to drip, but what else do you need
newspaper for, Seth?

Seth : I don't-,

(Seth spots Jackie's batik wrapped up in newspaper.)

Seth (pointing: at Jackie's batik.) That.

T : Yes=

Seth : =((What's Jackie))

(T sends Seth off to get another newspaper to wrap his batik in. S. says 'I'll squinch it' as he goes. T meanwhile gets involved in assisting Caroline with something. (32".))

Seth (holding paper) : Here it is, Ms. Bl.

(T continues talking to Caroline.)

Seth (hums to himself) : Huuuw. (5.1") Ms. B-,

(T talks to Caroline. Seth shakes the newspaper in front of her. (2.9"))

Seth : ((Ms B-))

T : Good Seth. All right. Come around to this side (...)

(T and Seth reapproach table. T gets Seth yet another piece of paper to soak up some extraneous dye. Seth fishes the batik out of the dye and waits until it stops dripping for about two minutes, holding it over the dye bath. Finally he places the batik out on the paper to dry.) (2.45"). END EXAMPLE

Despite the fact that the teacher is here working with only two (a third child is involved at the end) children (a feature which is doubtless only possible for this length of time because of a second nursery teacher in the classroom, "Ms. B-2"), the teacher must work carefully to respond to each child's need for assistance in a timely way so as to keep them involved in working. This involves more than helping with the dye bath, cloth tearing, apron wearing, and wax stroking. It also involves giving verbal praise and displays of involvement ("Oh: clouds") and signals that the teacher is shifting her own involvement from one child to the other while also indicating to the child "not in focus" what s/he should be doing ("Jackie, you can go ahead." "Oh::, look at Jackie's design." "I'll leave you to work". "I hear you Seth. I'll be with you in just a minute.", "You're waiting very patiently, Seth. Do you want to do some dictation now?", 'T crouches down beside Seth at one point and sings along with him for a few moments while he is using the dye bath', etc.). The teacher also has to deal with semi-extraneous noticings of the child, such as where the stories are in the beginning and what was in Seth's Daddy's newspaper that morning. It seems important that the teacher was not only able to "contain" the extraneous discussion, and get back quickly to task involvement, but that she was also able to deal with the discussion in a way that seemed as though the noticing was attended to, appreciated, and therefore "ritually closed off" as an appropriate topic.

In other words, this relatively "simple" situation of dealing with only two children turns out to be very complicated. This is largely a function of the teacher's task of supervising the two "vectors of activity" (see sub-section C following) of the two children. They are "doing the same thing", but they are not doing a joint activity; they are each doing something *individually*. The children have to learn how *not* to be involved in each other's work ("Now Seth, when you say you wanted to help, a batik is really a very personal thing.- Oh.- But if it's all right with you we could get a piece of cloth that *you* would like to use..."), and yet to *share* the *same resources* for the task, including the teacher's attention as well as the dye bath ("I hear you Seth. I'll be with you in just a minute."; "I want to dip it in now. - I know you do, but is there something in there...How could you help her? - I'll wait, Jackie."; I *did* it. Ms. B-1? *Batikked*! (1.6") I'll wait.") In this sequence Seth successfully accomplished making a batik (I'm told it was beautiful). But Seth also seems to have been learning a lot about *how* to do something individually while sharing time, space, materials, and other resources with other children in the classroom.[2]

NOTES

[1] I am indebted to Deborah Tannen for directing my attention to some of the recent work on orality and literacy.

[2] Much else could be said about this sequence, a portion of which is reconsidered in subsection C following, but some of it would take us slightly afield from our current focus on individualization. For example, it's quite noticeable and important that the teacher here is teaching Seth how to get through current and future obstacles to "following through" on an extended activity, by encouraging his own thinking and "planfulness": "(as Seth stops tearing the cloth) Can't do it any longer. - Can't do it now. Can you think of something that might help you? - (Seth shakes head 'no') - What do you think would help you? Try and think about it for a minute - I don't know. Scissors? - Very good. Want me to hold it while you get the scissors? - Yeah. - I'll be glad to help."; "Did you plan beforehand what you're going to do? - Yeah - Some people think about it ahead of time, and I wonder what you thought to yourself."; "(as Seth is taking his cloth out of the dye bath) Seth, what do we have to do with it? - Put paper there. - All right. Can you put it down until you get your paper?"). For a nice discussion of "teaching planfulness" using a different set of nursery school data, see Gearhart and Newman 1980.

B. The Non-Verbal Solicitation and Matters of the Intertwining of Verbal and Non-Verbal Modalities.[1]

In the previous subsection it was hopefully made clear that what goes on in a busy classroom during individualized instruction time involves much more than talk. Every aspect of each individual's copresence is in some way salient. If we start by thinking of "modality" as indicating some vessel for carrying and conveying information, then we can think of whole persons in face-to-face interaction as constituting the basic modality. In many ways this seems to be the sense of Ong's comment (on 'primary orality') that "Speech is structured through the entire fabric of the human person." (1979, p. 2; see the quote given earlier). However, many persons who are engaged in interaction with each other do not attend to each other fully. In telephone interaction, for example, we can only attend to each other's voices and sounds. Even in face-to-face interaction, however, we are often only partially engaged - conversing while driving a car or eating a meal, for example. Thus we can start to think of something like "modality splitting". The primary split, it seems, comes between verbal and non-verbal modalities.

In this subsection I want to address the need to consider the non-verbal modality in order to understand the verbal. This may be a truism, but the very complicated way in which it is true seems worth trying to explicate:

In recent years there has been an increasing recognition on the part of researchers who have used language as a major focus for developing intellectual inquiries - and here we may include linguists, anthropological linguists, ethnomethodologists, cognitive psychologists, educators, researchers in psychiatric settings, and probably others - that situations of face-to-face interaction involve many important non-verbal cues. In fact, it may be safe to say that, for the purpose of analyzing any face-to-face communicative event, virtually no aspect of non-verbal behavior can be ruled as irrelevant on a priori grounds. Thus the micro-ethnographic analysis of filmed and videotaped data is becoming more sophisticated and subtle with respect to analyzing the role of non-verbal cues in face-to-face interaction.

If however, one is committed to the study of language in natural settings and yet is also committed primarily to the study of language rather than non-language, the issue of how involved one should become in the study of non-verbal cues may loom fairly large.[2] Without addressing this issue directly, one can frame the following four related questions, (1) "For any given event-type[3] under analysis, what non-verbal cues or patterns of usage of non-verbal behavior must be dealt with (analytically) in order to make sense of the verbal moves that occur?" (Such patterns may be referred to as dominant non-verbal) (2) "Assuming that the situation of face-to-face interaction provides both verbal and non-verbal modalities for the communication of information, and assuming that an event-type may be roughly characterized as a sequence of (verbal and/or non-verbal) moves,[4] are there any aspects of the event-type under analysis that would render the information flow of certain specific events or portions of events primarily non-verbal rather than verbal?" (3) "To what extent do these patterns apply across event-types, if at all?" (4) "Is it relevant to speak of official versus unofficial modalities?"

I shall address these questions by examining the specific event-type of service-like event in the classroom in light of previous work I have undertaken with the event-type "service encounter" (see below). The aim of this section is thus twofold: First, I want to explore, generally, the theoretical implications of analyzing language use in its natural setting of face-to-face interaction. This necessarily involves incorporating the assumption that communication occurs not only through the verbal modality[5] but through the non-verbal modality as well. Secondly, I want to suggest a specific analysis for how these modalities are made use of in these two service event-types. The interweaving of these modalities seems to be patterned similarly in the two event types, suggesting continuity across event-types and possibly general features about the relative "communicative loading" (see below) of the two modalities.

More specifically I shall develop four threads of analysis:

(1) four patterns of usage of non-verbal behavior will be presented for the event-type "service encounter";

(2) one of these patterns of usage will be demonstrated for the related but distinct event-type service-like event in the primary level classroom;

(3) in the context for presenting and interpreting these patterns the notion of managing ritual equilibrium will be utilized;

(4) in the context of these patterns, the notion of verbal and non-verbal cues serving as official and unofficial moves, respectively, will emerge as possibly useful, with further refinement suggested in terms of "communicative loading".

The first part of the analysis involves reviewing a study focused on one kind of situation as a locus of observation.[6] That is the situation of interaction between a "posted" server and a second party who invokes the server's participation as an operator of a "serving post." One might refer to this second party as the "served" (server-served) or the "servee" (as with employer-employee, server-servee), or perhaps most simply as "customer." The notion of the serving post, I have argued, is crucial here in distinguishing this situation of interaction from other situations in which requests are routinely negotiated. The unit of observation and analysis for this situation I have called a service encounter.[7]

As with all communicative events, the relationship between participants is important. For example, among the personally acquainted rights to initiate a state of talk are not much questioned. A simple greeting in mutual copresence is often all that is required. In an aggregate of unacquainted individuals, rights to initiate talk are considerably abridged. The case of the service encounter can be seen to fall somewhat in between. It involves the management of entering into and withdrawing from a state of mutually recognized attention, including in many (if not most) cases some verbal exchange--all this typically by non-acquainted individuals in a public situation. To do this the individuals involved each assume a kind of role that allows them to initiate and engage in interaction, but in a limited way (as compared with informal conversation, say, among the personally acquainted).

Sometimes the role of server is signalled by the wearing of a uniform (as is frequently the case at a restaurant or a gas station) or a name tag (as often happens in a department store), but perhaps more importantly the server must be seen as "manning a service post". The service post provides a kind of interactional prop that distinguishes the service encounter from other kinds of public encounters or contacts. The service post is the part of a service area (the area typically including some store and/or display of commodities) where service transactions are usually consummated (e.g. money and commodities officially exchanged) and where, as a consequence, a customer's presence may be seen to function as a kind of summons for the server.

The first pattern of dominant non-verbal usage within the event-type service encounter involves a class of service encounters whose features of enacted exchange have become so routinized that the entire transaction may occur without any verbal cues at all. For example:[8]

(1) notions store

C: (Approaches cash register counter carrying a newspaper. Holds the newspaper in view of the server and holds up two coins which he places down on the counter.)

S: (Is standing behind the cash register counter, talking on the telephone. Nods as C places coins on counter, picks up and rings them into the cash register.)

(2) At a highway toll collection booth a driver (Customer) pulls up to the booth, rolls down his window and hands a bill to the uniformed person (Server) inside the booth. The server hands back to the driver some coins, the driver drives on through the tollgate.

We may, as analysts, decide that these transactions are essentially deritualized instances of face-to-face interaction, or we may decide that they should be referred to as service *contacts* rather than service *encounters*. The fact remains, though, that, in terms of the parameters of the locus of observation set out, these examples fall within the event-type service encounter and these examples rely entirely on the non-verbal modality.

The second pattern of dominant non-verbal usage also involves the transactional aspect of service encounters. Though the service being rendered by the server may consist of no more than providing information (as at an "information" counter in a train station or a department store), ordinarily this is not the case. Typically, the transaction involves an exchange of money and commodities. The necessarily non-verbal handing over of items, each to the other party, is a crucial part of the encounter.[9] As in the examples cited earlier, these exchange moves may involve no verbal cues at all, or there may be verbal moves that accompany, or are cued to, the non-verbal moves. Frequently, these accompanying verbal moves are sufficient for the audio channel to "carry" a sense of what is going on. For example, the following instances were transcribed from audiotapes with the help of ethnographic notes made while observing these encounters (parenthetical remarks describe the observation of non-verbal happenings):

(3) notions store

S: O.K. New York Times, fifteen.

RING

S: That's seventy-five, eighty-five change, right?

(4) notions store

S: O.K. Uh - Playboy magazine. Dollar and a Half.

S: Right. Thank you.

(5) notions store

C: (approaches service post with umbrella)
D'you have - uh - tinsel?

S: What?

C: Tinsel, for the Christmas Tree.

S: No, we don't carry it.

C: I guess that's it - the umbrella (puts on counter)

(6) notions store

S: Yes sir.

C: I want a pack of Pall Mall gold

S: O.K. (turns to get)

C: An'a pack o' Kents.

S: (with back turned to counter) Pall Mall gold, pack o' Kent - regular?

C: Mmm, yes sir.

S: O.K. (selects off shelf and brings to counter) that's one dollar even, right?

(7) notions store

C: ((D'you have any)) red ribbon?

S: Red ribbon?

C: Yeah.

S: Yes sir. Ya wanna come with me? (starts to walk away towards another part of the store)

(8) notions store

C: You don't have any yarn ribbon do you?

S: Yarn ribbon?

C: Unh. Hunh.

S: No, no yarn ribbon. Just-uh-I forget - for wrapping packages?

C: Unh. Hunh.

S: No, we have - what you see over here. (gesturing)

Many of the verbal accompaniment moves can be analyzed as essentially idexical or deictic, as in (3), (5), (7), and (8). But not all the verbal accompaniment moves can be. Some of the subtleties of those that cannot be so analyzed have been examined elsewhere (Merritt 1977a, 1978). Space does not permit a full recapitulation of the arguments presented there, but let me note the following:

In service encounters which require that customer "place an order" and that the server must subsequently undertake some action to fill the order (as opposed, for example, to service encounters in which the customer approaches the service post with a selected commodity which he merely wishes to pay for), there is frequently a verbal accompaniment move like "O.K." or "All right". Sometimes these moves become more complex, involving what I have called a "server 'playback' of customer order." This is illustrated in example (6) (in the turn in which the server says "Pall Mall gold, pack o' Kent - regular?).

My analysis of this phenomenon is that these moves are basically confirmative--confirmative of the server's commitment to take the next necessary action to negotiate the transaction. In the case of the cigarette orders, the next necessary action is for the server to actually get the cigarettes. However, getting the cigarettes takes a few seconds and creates a lag in the basic rhythm of the turn-taking of the encounter, that rhythm having been set by verbal turn-taking.[10] Thus the server's saying something affirmative as he begins to get the cigarettes is a way of his beginning to "take his turn" even though the most relevant part of his turn is the non-verbal action of getting the cigarettes. His verbalizing satisfies what I call a "place-holding" and "bridging" function in the discourse. The immediate implication of place-holding here is the server's commitment to action. He indicates that he is beginning or about to begin the next necessary action of the transaction. In doing so he confirms the customer's order.

The playback move serves the special function of orienting to the possible need for error correction (in the server's understanding of the customer's order). Both playback moves and confirmative particle moves (i.e. "O.K.", "all right" etc.) confirm the server's intention to satisfy the customer's request.[11] In addition, they mark a shift in the enactive flow of the encounter from saying to doing, and thereby anchor the action to words.[12] It is noteable, for instance, that though the non-verbal action involved in effecting the exchange of money and commodities in these encounters is crucial to the transactions, in almost every case it is possible to know the essence of what has transpired non-verbally just from the verbal moves. We can deduce for example, that in (4) the customer gave exact change while in (3) he did not.

The third pattern of dominant non-verbal usage is very limited. It involves the occurrence of a non-verbal cue that modifies or qualifies a verbal move, followed by an explicit reference to the non-verbal cue in the verbal discourse. For example:

(9) (at an outdoor food market the server is standing behind a fruit stand with prices indicated: grapefruit six for a dollar, oranges twelve for a dollar.)

S: What'll it be?

C: Can I have three grapefruit and six oranges for a dollar (winks, raising shoulders)?

S: (starts to put fruit in bag, smiling) You'd better wink.

The fourth pattern of dominant non-verbal usage is that which occurs at the initiation of the encounter.

The first stage of a service encounter (as with any encounter) is that of access: server and customer lift the communication barrier between them and become involved in a state of transaction. Prior to this, each party can be described with respect to the degree of his "transactional accessibility" (this is comparable to the notion of conversational accessibility which I have used elsewhere in this report). It is also another way of talking about the strength of the communication barrier between the two parties.

The state of transaction is ordinarily reached through deliberate negotiation, increasing, by turns, the degree of transactional accessibility between the server and customer. A server, by virtue of this presence at the serving post, signals tacit offering of service or availability to answer service summonses. A customer, by entering the service area and especially by placing himself at a service post (and sometimes, additionally, by "taking a number"), signals a tacit request for attention or a summons for a server. The server then makes a formal acknowledgement of the customer's request or summons (e.g. a nod or I'll be right with you."), followed by a formal answer to the summons (that is, a commitment of availability), (with number-systems a reply by customer is sometimes inserted), usually coupled (often elliptically) with a formal offer of service ("Are you ready to be helped?" "Next?", etc.). After the formal offer follows an acceptance of the offer ("yes") by the customer. At this point the contact has been ratified for a state of transaction and mutual access of server and customer is established.

The customer immediately follows with an act oriented to the completion of the next stage in the encounter, (selection decision). This act may be called a "customer start." Ordinarily this is a formal request of some type ("I'd like---?", "Can I have---?", "Do you have---?"). Frequently this move is "coupled" (often elliptically) onto the customer acceptance of server offer. Where this coupling is elliptical (i.e., there is no "yes" or acceptance item as such; rather, it must be inferred) the move that completes the negotiation of the access stage also begins the next stage of the encounter.[14]

All of this usually transpires very quickly, of course, and a casual observer might say that service encounters typically begin when the first verbal move is made (when the server says, "May I help you?", for example, or when the customer says "I'd like a pack of Marlboros"). I would argue, however, that the customer's entrance into the service area, and particularly his positioning himself at the service post, is the first step in the initiation of a service encounter. Further this use of the non-verbal modality is important to the overall structure of the service encounter and the continuities it preserves with respect to norms of social interaction generally. Here a digression may be in order.

Start with a concept of ritual equilibrium. (Here, especially, and in the following argument I draw heavily on the work of Erving Goffman (1971)). This is the state of equilibrium that can be enjoyed by individuals of a personal relationship when they are not in each other's copresence and by copresent nonacquainteds when they are properly not attending to each other (that is, there is a condition of mutually held civil inattention; each is officially "going about his own business.") When this state is disturbed some ritual work will be required to maintain or restore equilibrium.

The state of ritual equilibrium can be disturbed by accident or by design. In the case of "happy" accident the ritual work performed may be thought of as supportive, reflecting the fact that both parties are equally innocent of any improper intent to encroach on the other's territory, and equally ready to share (and equally concerned not to share) territory with the other. Here is the exchange of greetings occasioned by two acquainteds who chance to pass each other on the street. Here also are the collusive smiles and remarks, the offers of assistance that are proffered by one non-acquainted to another; these supportive gestures having been precipitated by the mutual recognition that the other has somehow been placed in jeopardy (whether by having dropped his own parcel, or having been rudely treated by a third party) and is worthy of being restored to his former status.

On the other hand, the state of ritual equilibrium may be disturbed by "unhappy" accident, and the ritual work performed may be thought of as remedial, reflecting the fact that one party has encroached upon the territory of the other, albeit unwittingly. Here belong the apologies and accounts that are occasioned by one person victimizing the other unintentionally.

Finally, if the state of ritual equilibrium is disturbed by design one party will have made a demand of the other, and thereby will have knowingly encroached on the other's territory. Remedial work by the offender is again required. Once more we find apologies and accounts. But along with these is a third type of remedial work peculiar to designed disturbances. The third type comes in various forms and is usually affixed to the encroaching demand in a very integrating manner--the use of modal interrogatives and, even, "question" intonation alone (i.e. without interrogative particles or word-order change) being prominent examples. Such "remedial affixations" transform the "root demand" into what is typically called a request. Included here are requests for action (or mitigations of the "root" imperative or directive), requests for information, and requests for attention. A demand or request for attention is demanded (though for perfunctory services such assertions of status on the part of the server are rarely maintained with any consistency). To some extent, then, the customer's use of the non-verbal summons is a way of remedializing his demand for attention.

At this point let us turn to a few observations from the classroom study. Here the focus is on what takes place in a classroom when a child approaches his teacher for help during individual activity time - "service-like events in the classroom".

Now, clearly the event-types service encounter and service-like event in the classroom bear some relationship to each other, but at the same time the respective settings that "host" the two events are remarkably different. In "commercial service encounters" the participants are typically non-acquainted and typically both of adult age. Further the commercial encounters are typically that: the participants engage, transact their business, and separate; the standard roles of server and customer do not require any subsequent personal recognition of the individuals involved. On the other hand, in the "service-like events in the classroom" the participants are typically acquainted and of child and adult age. Further the events are not the only shared encounters in the participants' copresent habitation of the classroom. The participants are more or less interactionally accessible to each other for long periods in the course of a school day (and that for many school days over the course of a school year), and the service-like event reflects only one of many kinds of participant structures that child and teacher engage in together.

Therefore, when two event-types like commercial service encounter and service-like event in the classroom are compared and particular features are found to pattern similarly, this is often called a "summons" (at least in those situations in which a previously unestablished line of talk is being established).

Now consider the initiation of talk between two "acquainteds." If it should occur by accident there will be the supportive ritual of exchanging greetings. If it should occur by design it will begin with some kind of summons on the part of the "designer." The summons is a kind of demand which may entail some remedial work on the part of the summoner ("I hope I'm not disturbing you.", etc.). Often, however, if not typically, the remedy-required character of this initiating move is countered by a supportive gesture on the part of the summoned--typically a greeting. (In telephone exchanges this can be thought of as further ritualized, in that the usual response to the summons of the telephone ring is "Hello" (greeting form) although at the time of answering it is not clear who has summoned.)[15]

In the service encounter the initiation of the encounter typically begins with a summons on the part of the customer. The summons is non-verbal, and consists of the customer positioning himself at the serving post. The specific action involved varies somewhat according to the "style" of the service area. In a self-service drug store the serving post may be the "check-out" counter. At a luncheonette the customer will usually summons by taking a seat at the counter or in a booth (though to stand at the cash register may signal the intent to make a carry-out order).

The non-verbalness of the summons has an important consequence. It allows the server to make the first linguistic move in the interaction and so make it in the form of a supportive gesture, namely an offer ("May I help you?" "Would you like to be helped?" "What can I do for you?" etc.).[16] As with the supportive response to a summons between two personally acquainteds (namely, a greeting) the ritual effect here is to counter the necessity for any remedial work that might otherwise be required on account of the demand quality of the summons. Contrariwise, for the customer to accost the server with a linguistic summons (which does sometimes occur: "Can you take this for me?", etc.) is to undercut the supportive slot available to the server, the ritual effect of which is usually some tension between the interactants for the ensuing transaction.

This partially accounts for the usual "miffed" reaction of servers who have been so accosted by customers. Also involved is the tacit inference that the server has not been properly responsive to the foregoing non-verbal summons (and a non-verbal summons can almost always be inferred by virtue of the fact that the customer is there in the proper place for service), so that the linguistic summons also has some quality of being a second summons. I have noticed that very often the server, when verbally summoned, will manage to defer the interaction ("Mr. Brown will help you in just a moment.", "I'll be right with you.") for at least a few moments.[17] This "distancing" often results in the server's "re-entry" with the usual supportive offer, "Now, what can I do for you?" (the "now" being offered as another kind of remedial gesture - one that makes note of the fact that the customer has been kept waiting; note that "now" may also be used when the customer has been kept waiting and has not made a verbal summons but only remained in position at the serving post).[18] A further aspect of the customer's "waiting" (for the server to make the offer of service) is the deference that is shown to the server's role and prerogatives: it defers to some ritual appreciation that it is the server who is in a position to make an offer, that the services that he renders are to be sought out and not

not altogether unexpected, but it is also quite reportable.[19] What I have, in fact, observed is that the "communicative loading" and intertwining of the verbal and non-verbal modalities pattern vary similarly across the two event types.

Consider the following instances of classroom interaction from our data:

(10) second grade classroom, teacher G sitting at table with a queue of children on one side. M. gets out of chair and approaches teacher, and stands waiting beside teacher on the side opposite to the queue.

WAILING SOUND IN THE BACKGROUND

T: (turning away from the child she has been working with) That's a lovely coyote sound, but I'm doing math right now.## (turns back to the table)

M: May I get the gerbils settled?

T: Yes.

(11) third grade classroom, teacher I sitting at table with group of children, but working only with V. who is reading aloud. (C approaches teacher with book in hand)

(T looks up, takes book from C; V continues reading aloud)

T: (Sotto Voice to C.) Just a ((moment)). Just a minute.

V: (stops reading)

T: (to V) Go ahead

T: (to C) Let her finish her sentence.

V: READS ALOUD A LITTLE FURTHER

T: (to V) Alright. Wait a minute.

T: (to C) Alright. What's your question?

(12) third grade classroom, teacher I sitting at table with group of children, but working only with V who is reading aloud.

Cr: (while walking up to table with book in hand)
How many books are we allowed to take out, Mrs. I .?
(No response from Mrs. I.)
Cr: (reaches table and stops by Mrs. I. who is still engaged with helping V.)
Cr: Mrs. I., how many books are we allowed to take out?
T: (looking over to Cr., putting her finger on his belt)
What do you do if I'm talking to somebody else?
Cr: (grimaces and puts book down on nearby shelf)
T: (waving finger) You just stand there and I'm gonna see you.
V: (to T) You can help him.
T: (to V) No, I want him to learn and it's hard
((go ahead))
V: (to T) ((BRIEF CONTINUATION OF READING ALOUD)
T: (to V) All right. Excuse me.
T: (to Cr.) M'one, this week.

(13) third grade classroom, teacher I is sitting at table working with a single child on math.
(Ch. approaches the teacher, doesn't say anything. After a few seconds and T. does not turn to him, Ch. begins to tap on T.'s shoulder.)
(T. turns to Ch., says nothing)
Ch: Oh, you're busy aren't you?
T: Yes. Thanks for remembering, (turns back to her work at the table)
Ch: (walks away)

(14) nursery level classroom, teacher A-2 is sitting at a table with a small group and "taking dictation" from one child (in this case the teacher is writing down for the child a word description of the picture the child has drawn).

(M. approaches the table and moves up to the teacher, but seems to say nothing. Teacher continues to work with the "dictating" child. After a few seconds M. starts to walk away from the table.)

T: Uhh::. Melissa? I'll be with you in a minute.
(reaching out after Melissa with her arm and gazing in her direction.)

In general, the non-verbal modality seems to be used most frequently to effect the initial child summons. We see this in examples (10), (11) and (14). In (14) we see evidence of the teacher interpreting the child's standing nearby as a possible summons, even though the child does not "follow-up" with a more specific demand as in (10) and (11). In example (12) we see evidence of the teacher sanctioning the child for using the verbal modality to effect his summons. In example (13) we see evidence of the child's attempt to stay within the bounds of the non-verbal modality, seemingly countered by his realization that the business he wishes to transact cannot be done non-verbally and so must be withdrawn if the teacher has not signalled her availability to interact verbally.

At this point, let me say that the intertwining of the verbal and non-verbal modalities begins to get considerably more complicated. Some aspects of that complication are dealt with in the sub-sections that follow. Nevertheless, in terms of what I have found so far, the similarities in patterning of modalities between service-like events in the classroom and commercial service encounters are so striking as to demand at least tentative speculation.

Analytical Generalizations (tentative) comparing the two service event-types:

The non-verbal modality is crucial to both of the service event-types that I have studied, for many of the same or similar reasons. Further, in both event-types "use" of the non-verbal modality seems to pattern, with respect to relative communicative loading of the verbal modality, in much the same way. There are two major and interrelated points (1 and 2 following) that can be advanced as generalizations, with some argumentation offered for each.

1. The non-verbal summons or solicitation is the preferred move for initiation for both service event-types. There are three threads of analysis that indicate why we might expect this to be the case, and which also lead to the second major point (2, following):

a. The non-verbal summons has, in general, a remedializing character, as has been argued in some detail earlier in this subsection.

b. Because of the fact that the server/teacher is in a position to be already involved in some other activity - particularly interaction with another customer/student - the initiating customer/student may choose to pay some attention to the possibly "interruptive" character of his initiation.

One customer/student strategy seems to be based on the realization that the official involvement of the server/teacher is through the verbal modality, so that the non-verbal modality can be used without officially interrupting. That is, the communicative loading of the verbal modality in the "host" - teacher event is "heavy enough" to "carry" the host event, while the non-verbal modality is "syphoned off" to the service-like event. We see this happening in example (2), and this happens frequently in our classroom data. In example (11) we see what seems to have started out like this, but the teacher needs more information. She seems to be trying to avoid interrupting the reading tutorial she is involved with by whispering her query, but even that causes the reader to stop, so that the teacher then has to handle the two involvements sequentially rather than simultaneously, as she seems to have been trying to accomplish at the beginning.

A second available customer/student strategy is to "slot-in" the initiation, immediately following some other interruption. This is what happens in example (10). This strategy seems to be used most frequently for procedural or very brief requests (e.g. "Where is the toothpaste?" in a service encounter setting), and still usually involves a non-verbal positioning solicitation.

c. Because of the fact that the server/teacher, while helping one customer/student, may be in demand by waiting customers/students, the server/teacher may seek to find ways to satisfy the waiting customers/students as soon as possible.

One server/teacher strategy seems to be collaboration with customers/students in carrying out the second or subordinate event totally non-verbally (as discussed above under customer/student strategy), without disrupting the communicative loading of the verbal modality as the effective or official modality of the host event (a failed attempt at which is nicely illustrated in example (11) cited earlier).

A second server/teacher strategy involves the server/teacher capitalizing on any part of the current or host event that might naturally involve a non-verbal turn of significant time span on the part of the customer/student. For instance, the server/teacher may say to a customer/student, "Take a look at these and see if there's anything you like here" or "Work on this problem and see what you come up with". While the first customer/student is involved in a non-verbal "turn-activity" the server/teacher is "free" to "slot-out" and make an offer of service to the next person waiting. There is a change here in the relative communicative loading of the modalities available to the event. It is as though the effective modality of the first or host event has been shiften from verbal to non-verbal, thereby freeing the server/teacher to use the verbal modality in another event.

A third server/teacher strategy is for the server/teacher to simply signal verbally an interruption to the first event. We see this in both example (11) (after the failed attempt at strategy two) and example (12) cited earlier.

2. In both service event-types there seems to be an orientation to some norm that views the verbal modality as being generally more "official".

For instance, one very sensible way of talking about example (9) cited earlier is to say that the server's utterance "You'd better wink" in some sense "officializes" the non-verbal action of winking as part of the encounter. And it seems that a similar argument can be made for the confirmative particles "O.K." and "All right" discussed earlier, as well as deictic utterances like "Ya wanna come with me?" in example (7).

To say that the verbal modality is usually the "official" modality is not to speak in absolutes, of course; that has been part of the point of this sub-section. There is, rather, an "orientation" to this norm, and, even there, it might be more accurate to think of this as the "unmarked case".

Another way of conceptualizing this point is to say that there is an orientation to a norm that views the communicative loading of the verbal modality as being much heavier than the communicative loading of the non-verbal modality in officially ratified events; and, further, that the communicative loading of the verbal modality is heaviest for the most officially *ratified event* in which participants are engaged (especially when not all participants are engaged in more than one event (e.g. customers/students typically are not, whereas servers/ teachers not infrequently are)), with priority in terms of official ratification usually accruing to the participant with the higher (highest) status in the situation. This conceptualization leads to a couple of interesting corollaries that seem to be born out by the data I have examined:

2.1 If communicative loading of the verbal modality is so heavy as to almost exclude the non-verbal modality for one participant (as, e.g., in reading tutorials where the student must focus visual attention on a text), then it should be possible for the other participant to "use" the non-verbal modality to participate in another, partially simultaneous, event without much risk of disrupting communication in the first or host event. As we have seen, this happens in both commercial service encounters and service-like events in the classroom.

2.2 If communicative loading of the verbal modality is heaviest for the most officially ratified event that participants are engaged in, then we might expect that if a "need" arises for the use of the verbal modality in a subordinate (or less officially ratified event) there will be a concomitant variation in the "loudness" of resultant moves. This is exactly what happens in example (11) in which the teacher finds she cannot handle the subordinate service-like event completely within the non-verbal modality and goes on to ask in a *whisper*, "Which one? Which one?". (Note, further, that this orientation to prerogatives of relative loudness may in some way account analytically for the form of sanctions that a teacher may offer to students who are not engaged in an event with the teacher and whose "talk" is deemed overly loud (e.g. in example (10) cited earlier the teacher responds to a loud wailing sound with "That's a lovely coyote sound, but I'm doing math right now"--indicating, perhaps, that such a degree of loudness in the audio channel (which the verbal modality relies upon) could be tolerated only if the teacher were involved in the event).

In this sub-section I have used my previous work with commerical service encounters to develop analytical concepts for examining our classroom data for service-like events. In doing so I hope to have also provided an argument for a relationship of general continuity between the two event-types--one which has to do specifically with the shifts in communicative loading and intertwining of verbal and non-verbal modalities that service events invoke. It seems important that these classroom events that are part of designed individualized instruction display this relationship of general continuity, as this continuity may, in fact, have a broader base in the general interactional norms of American middle-class society.

NOTES

[1] Much of the analysis in this subsection was presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November, 1978, in a paper entitled "Modes of Verbal and Non-Verbal Intertwining in Service Events". A later revision was submitted and accepted for publication in Papers In Linguistics (1979b) under the title "Communicative Loading" and Intertwining of Verbal and Non-verbal Modalities in Service Events". Comments from Erving Goffman, Rebecca Barr, Courtney Cazden and Gail Benjamin (who co-chaired with me the AAA session) have been helpful to revision.

[2] See, for example, the work of Adam Kendon and associates for the range of intricate interrelationships between verbal and non-verbal cues in human social interaction (Kendon 1977; Kendon Harris, and Key (eds.) 1975). Kendon makes the distinction between gesticulations (non-verbal cues that are an integral part of the speech stream) and gestures (that are communicative acts that may be independent of, or substitute for, speech behavior). For a theoretical statement as to how these features of social interaction affect linguistics as a discipline, see Darnell and Vanek (1978).

[3] I use the term "event-type" rather than event to disambiguate between the two possible senses of event as either "type" or "token". I have tried to use the term event to refer to actual occurrences of "tokens".

[4] I cannot provide a really tight definition of "move" but it should be noted that although what is linguistically described by the term speech act is often coterminous, it would be a mistake to equate them. The notion of move is firmly tied to changes in the ritual equilibrium (see Goffman 1971, Merritt

1976a) between participants. Though the notion may be operationalized in the instance of goal-directed interaction as an act that has "significance" in terms of moving the interaction in the direction of the goal, I believe this is too limited. In general, it seems right to say that whatever actions of participants are interpreted as "officially ritually significant" may be interpreted as moves, the concept of "official" having to do mainly with channels used and precision of reportability, and the concept of "ritually significant" having to do with whether or not ritual equilibrium is affected. These concepts ("official" and "ritual equilibrim") will be considered in more detail later in this sub-section.

[5] Here I shall speak only of the verbal modality and the non-verbal modality, although this is an oversimplification. One might well ask, for example, why not speak simply of audio and visual "channels" rather than verbal and non-verbal modalities. Besides the fact the "modality" is oriented more to the production of communicative acts while "channel" is oriented more to the perception of communicative acts, the notion of modality is much more flexible in that the resources of, say, the verbal modality may be "split" into more than one "modality" (dependent on features like speech tempo, loudness, and/or pitch level) - just as the "whole person modality" discussed at the outset of this subsection has been analytically split into the verbal and non-verbal modalities. My thinking here owes much to discussions about modality with Gail Benjamin.

[6] For a detailed discussion of what is entailed by the notion "locus of observation" see section I of this report.

[7] The notion of an encounter follows that of Erving Goffman:

> "When two persons are mutually present and hence engaged together in some degree of unfocussed interaction...they

> can proceed from there to engage one another in focused interaction, the unit of which I shall refer to as a face engagement or an encounter. Face engagements comprise all those instances of two or more participants in a situation joining each other openly in maintaining a single focus of cognitive and visual attention--what is sensed as a single mutual activity, entailing preferential communication rights. As a simple example--and one of the most common--when persons are present together in the situation they may engage each other in a talk...." (Behavior in Public Places, 1963: pp. 88-89).

It has been suggested to me that the notion of encounter is not routinely appropriate to describe the interaction between server and customer. For instance, many such interactions are so deritualized as to involve no verbalization or eye contact at all. Such interaction might then be labelled service "contact" rather than service "encounter." My view is that there is not a dichotomy but rather a continuum operating here, and further that this continuum is not necessarily related in any simple way to other contextual features. In particular, it seems that even the most perfunctory situation can host a fully ritualized encounter. Thus I choose to label the entire continuum service encounter.

[8] The service encounter data presented here is taken from my dissertation research, which involved on-the-spot hand recording and audiotape recording of service encounters from a variety of primarily urban service areas. The largest and most systematically collected subset of the data was observed and recorded in a

"notions store", which was a small self-service store selling mostly magazines and cigarettes, but also selling stationery, small houseware items, cosmetics, etc.

[9] The study of transferring items has begun to be a study in its own right. See, for example, the work of Blaine Anderson 1978.

[10] The notion of rhythm in encounters is clearly an important and complex one, the understanding of which has only recently begun. Here see the work of William Condon and associates (1966, 1969, 1974), Frederick Erickson (1976), and Adrian Bennett (1978a,b).

[11] As mentioned earlier, the playback move and the use of the confirmative particle "O.K." have been discussed in more detail elsehwere (Merritt 1977a, 1978). The "confirming effect", it may be noted, is the kind of phenomenon that J.L. Austin (1962) discussed in distinguishing perlocutionary consequence and illocutionary *effects*: "What we do import by the use of nomenclature of illocution is a reference, not to the consequences (at least in any ordinary sense) of the location, but to the *conventions of illocutionary force as bearing on the special circumstances of the occasion of the issuing of the utterance*." (p. 114, italics added)... "Generally the effect amounts to bringing about the understanding of the meaning and of the force of the locution. So the performance of an illocutionary act involves the securing of *uptake*, " (p. 116, italics in the original). The customer's understanding of the playback or confirmative particle as confirming his/her request thus constitutes the necessary effect of the securing of uptake. It is the server's assumption that this effect has been secured

that allows the playback move to function as a special cue for possible error correction. That is, when the server plays back "All right, pack of Marlboros", the customer need not speak in response, unless the customer has not requested Marlboros; it is otherwise assumed that the confirming uptake has been achieved.

[12] This feature was first pointed out to me by Erving Goffman.

[13] In the following example there is not only the juxtaposition of verbal and non-verbal messages, the server's response is clearly one of compliance plus "complaint".

[14] For a more detailed discussion, see Merritt 1976b.

[15] For a more detailed discussion of telephone answering behavior see Emanuel Schegloff (1972 (1968)). There he points out, further, that although "Hello" (which is itself a greeting form) occurs as usual response to the summons of the telephone ring (in personal residences), this is usually followed up with "Oh, Hi Jack," (a "true" greeting) once the caller (here, Jack) has actually identified himself.

[16] This is not withstanding, of course, that the supportive gestures of greeting is used in some service encounter situations. In particular, in small communities or whenever the server and customer "know" each other (in the sense of being able to relate their current encounter to some previous history of encounters) a greeting form is often the norm ("How are you today?").

[17] The use of this kind of device to establish supervisory control in work situations has been discussed by sociologists. As will be developed later, this same kind of response is also used by teachers in responding to students' queries. William F. Whyte's research on waitress behavior in restaurants suggests that the

waitresses who are most happy and successful at their jobs are those who maintain control of the interactional situations between themselves and customers (and between themselves and the kitchen personnel) through such devices.

[18] The extent to which all the possible steps of negotiating transactional access can be pulled apart is frequently made obvious in restaurant situations: Customers first come in and are seated, then water and menus may be served, then cocktail or drink orders may be solicited, and finally food orders taken. Thus "waiting" behavior is further segmented and ritualized, often involving different service personnel at various stages (a hostess seats the customer, a busboy brings water, a cocktail waitress takes drink orders, and finally a waiter takes the food order).

[19] What is involved here are two systems of reference. One has to do with the primary use or communicative loading of verbal versus non-verbal modalities in human interaction. The second has to do with the "footing" (see Erving Goffman 1979) or social identity that is invoked for each participant (relative to other participants) for each interchange.

C. The Verbal Solicitation and Considerations of Conversational Access, Engagement, and Vectors of Activity.[1]

As we anticipated that it might (see section I), the initial focus on the service-like event has drawn us to consider a more general phenomenon "conversational accessibility" (recall the earlier discussion of "transactional accessibility") or more simply, "conversational access". We have found this notion useful because it has allowed us to think about different events and activities within the classroom using the same "common denominator".

As suggested earlier, we use this term "conversational access" to describe and refer to one of the parameters of classroom interaction that applies to any situation of social interaction: Since, as we have seen, teaching and learning activities within the classroom are by no means restricted to the verbal modality, let me briefly relate the notion of conversational access to its braoder interactional paradigm: Any time a set of individuals are physically close enough to each other to touch, speak to, listen, overhear or otherwise attend to each other, it makes sense to think about how social order among that set of individuals is sustained through their adhering to the same or similar "rules" or expectations about who has what rights (and obligations) in this regard. In the classroom, touching behavior (especially hitting behavior) is probably the easiest to monitor and usually the first of these behaviors to be "brought under control". Overhearing or otherwise non-verbally attending to each other in a non-focussed way is inherently difficult to monitor and probably is never totally "rule predicted" for all students in a given classroom (nor are "infractions" usually very serious). "Speaking to" behavior (and the expectation it sets up for listening) is, however, very much part of what is "officially" going on in the classroom, and something the teacher sees as necessary to control.

"Improper 'speaking to'" behavior is not as serious as improper touching behavior but it is more socially serious than improper overhearing behavior. Speaking behavior increases the general noise level of the classroom (and therefore may be generally disruptive), and it ordinarily requires responsiveness (listening) on the part of some interlocutor (and therefore may be specifically disruptive to the activity involvement of the designated interlocutor). It makes sense, then, to assume that copresent individuals may communicate in accord with their feelings about who they have rights to speak to (and therefore expect attention and response from) and who has rights to speak to them. Unlike "getting a turn" or "getting the floor", conversational access does not presume that cointeractants are already ratified as participants in the same group or activity. "Conversational access" is rather a sort of "global term" (that applies at all times and for all events) that contextualizes the extent to which any particular individual in a setting (e.g. in the classroom) has the right (and social obligation) to be or become engaged (or protect him/herself from engagement) in talk or conversation with the other individuals in that setting.

Each individual's management of conversational access is one of the major aspects of that individual's monitoring of the ongoing state of ritual equilibrium, or non-equilibrium, between her/himself and other copresent individuals. (For a more extensive discussion of ritual and ritual equilibrium see Goffman, 1956, 1971; Merritt, 1976a. For a partial application of Goffman's notions to the classroom setting see Cook-Gumperz and Corsaro, 1977, Corsaro, 1979, Section III-B of this report.) This is important because ritual equilibrium is a critical factor in the formation and maintenance of social relationships (see McDermott, 1976; Stubbs & Delamont, 1976 for a discussion of the importance of social relationships in the classroom).

In these terms, with respect to the service-like event, the major (or at least initial) communicative task the soliciting child must accomplish is to accurately assess and establish conversational access to the teacher. Almost any negative sanction the teacher may make to the child's solicitation can be interpreted as rejecting the child's presumed assessment of his/her conversational access to the teacher at that moment (I'm sorry, Georgie, I'm really closed now", "Is this an emergency?", "What are you supposed to do when I'm talking to somebody else?") Thus, a child's successful initiation of a service-like event often depends upon the child's accurate assessment of the moment-to-moment shifts in conversational access to the teacher. This frequently turns out to be, in effect, the timeliness with which a child can unobtrusively "slot-in" his/her solicitation.

Because specific situational appropriateness in this realm of classroom behavior is so difficult (if not impossible) to teach directly (see the "interruptions lesson" presented later), the teacher's responsiveness in these situations is likely to be the teacher's major input to the children's mastery of this event.

It seems to us though, that whatever "rules" are being informally taught in the initiation of these events, they are not just rules for service-like events. Rather, they are rules for conversational access which, ideally, should be relatively consistently enforced across classroom activities generally. Specific "rules" for meeting the situational demands of individual classrooms can only be worked out by the participants themselves, of course (here see Doyle 1979, Mehan 1979a).

Nevertheless it may be useful, if only to concretize the notion of conversational access, to consider the following three generalizations that seem to hold for our data and probably most American classrooms:

1. In the classroom, the teacher always has the prerogative to speak to any student or group of students at any time. In a multi-focussed activity session the teacher may periodically "make rounds" of students largely for the purpose of reinforcing teacher-child contact, or the teacher's "intrusion" may be primarily academically oriented. The extent to which the teacher is constantly attentive to goings-on all over the classroom is evidenced in the following episode that took place in one of the third grade classrooms that we observed:

(1) The teacher, Mrs. I., was working with a small group of students on plural formation of nouns in English, while three other groups were working on a science experiment that called for testing a solution with detergent, salt, vinegar, and Borax. However, not every science group had "its own" bottle of detergent and that apparently spawned a little confusion which Mrs. I. swiftly arighted by slotting out of her activity as follows:

"plurals group" led by Mrs. I.	Student group working on an experiment
T: O.K. Great	R(to J): Detergent you shouldn't call Borax 'cause it's detergent.
C: Then I can correct them now?	
T: Uhh, ((well)) yeah, fix it but I want you to wait=	J: Hunh?

"plurals group" led by Mrs. I.	Student group working on an experiment.
J: Is mine OK?	
T: =a minute. I want you and John	C: The Borax is the detergent?
to take this and see if	R: Hey, why'd you do that?
you can see. We have up	J: Because the detergent is
here E-S	Borax.
we have S-H,	R: I know.
and C-H=	=Detergent is not the Borax.

2. Rights to speak to any individual (and, concomitantly, the interlocutor's obligation to listen or be responsive) are very much bound up with the answer to the question "About what?" With service-like events, for example, it makes a great deal of difference if the soliciting child has recently been engaged in some task involvement with the teacher and is simply "returning" to get clarification or the "go-ahead" for the next phase of his/her task. In such cases, the child can almost always "get in" fairly quickly and easily.

Teachers even expect to be "interrupted" on some occasions and count a student's failure to do so as inappropriate. For example, Mrs. C. in one of the kindergarten classrooms we observed once discovered after a few minutes into a "mobilemaking" session that two of the children were not working. It turned out that they did not have the necessary coat-hangers. At this point Mrs. C. said, "You mean you've waited all this time? If you needed help what should you have asked for?". After waiting a few seconds for the children to respond that they need a hanger, she went on, "O.K. I'll be glad to give you one. If you let me know what you need, Chuck and Marylou, I can really help you."

3. Further, we have noted that teachers' responsiveness to child initiated talk seems to "shape up" appropriate "topic behavior". That is, children may be expected to monitor their verbal participation not only in terms of "who has legitimate access to the teacher at this time" but also in terms of "what constitutes a legitimate contribution to the activity at hand." In other words, children are informally taught not only when they should talk to the teacher but also what they can legitimately talk to the teacher about (see also Mehan's findings (1979:159)).

This brings us to a third generalization about conversational access considerations in the classroom, but one of a different order: Teachers are constantly put in the position of making decisions as to whether to enforce conversational access rules in terms of designated participants to the communication in progress, or in terms of academically viable contributions to the activity at hand.

Clearly such decisions are very difficult (if not impossible) for teachers to make consistently. Their almost inherent inconsistency provides one of the avenues through which students play an active role in shaping what goes on in the classroom. Concomitantly, the more consistently a teacher makes these decisions the more control she exercises over the maintenance of social order in this domain. Part of this control is manifested through students' sense of knowing how to participate (as both social and academic participants) in a manner that is deemed competent by other coparticipants.[2]

For the teacher, then, making the "right" decision when a child solicits attention or "presumes" to contribute to some activity or participant structure that s/he is not clearly a part of depends on many things. In a similar way, the effectiveness of service-like events as a mechanism for dealing with competing student demands during periods of individualized instruction depends very much on the perceptiveness of the teacher in assessing a particular situation.

This often means recognizing a child's need for individual attention and non-disruptively "slotting-out" of, or drawing the soliciting child into, involvement with other student(s). As suggested in an earlier sub-section, the smooth coordination of "slot-ins" and "slot-outs" in a busy classroom seems to involve considerable use of non-verbal as well as verbal modalities, and many teachers indirectly "teach" their students to make non-verbal rather than verbal solicitations. Non-verbal solicitations leave the teacher with the prerogative of shifting to the verbal modality or not. The non-verbal aspect of initiating talk is thus clearly an important aspect of negotiating conversational access.

At this point, however, let us start to focus more on the verbal modality by moving from the notion of conversational access to a related notion that is also of general interest to the study of social interaction - that of "engagement". The general question addressed is "How do cointeractants engage each other in social interaction?" or "What constitutes mutual engatement?"

Educationally, this issue of engagement assumes a major interest when the cointeractants are teacher and student. In the educational setting of the primary classroom, as we have seen, special features bear on mutual engagement of teacher and student, as compared with cointeractants generally: a) The teacher and student have asymmetrical prerogatives as cointeractants, with the teacher able to initiate talk with the student at almost any time, but not vice versa. b) There is one teacher and many students, all or many of whom may want the teacher's attention at the same time. As we have seen, this can be particularly problematic during periods of individualized instruction.

One aspect of our study has been a concern to locate discourse elements that are likely to index the initiation of engagement. This aspect represents a formal approach to investigating engagement. This is in contrast with the functional approach of examining service-like events, which constitute a significant occasion for initiating engagement. We knew that if we could discern some discourse element or discourse resource in this category then the data could be scanned for occurrences. Methodologically it was desirable to choose as such a potential index a discourse element that was as formally specifiable as possible.

One possibility was that of reciprocating "replies" to the solicitations of attention. However, there were two difficulties in terms of meeting the criterion of formal specifiability:
a) In general, what can serve as initiating acts for replies and responses has been shown to be highly variable (Goffman, 1976).
b) In particular, children seem to deviate from whatever norms are general to adults by requiring responses to some verbal acts that adults do not (Garvey, 1975; Keenan, 1974).

A second possibility derives from solicitations of attention in general and the following "generic sequence": Whatever the "solicitor" has in mind he/she will simply blurt out to the proposed interlocutor. If there is no response or if the solicitor is unsatisfied with the response given, the solicitor will simply redo or "replay" the soliciting act. "Replays" can thus be identified as discourse elements (Merritt, 1976).

The most straightforward form of replay is the repetition or repeat. Another form of replay involves a slight variation in form or a reformulation of the original act. Since many replays, certainly the "exact" repeats, are easy to spot on formal grounds, such discourse elements seemed to meet the criterion of being formally speficiable. Accordingly the data were scanned with the hypothesis that replays index the initiation of engagement. More particularly, based on the generic sequence, we hypothesized that replays are indicative of lack of anticipated engagement. We reasoned that if this hypothesis were confirmed, then the replays that were observed could be further examined. This would be done with a view toward finding something out about the nature of engagement by seeing when it is identifiably initiated with no "uptake" (and here the notion of uptake is analogous to Austin's (1962) usage of the term in discussing conditions on the performance of an illocutionary act see note 11, section III-B of this report).

The data were scanned to see if there were any interesting examples of replays, especially examples of multiple replays. At the nursery and kindergarten levels there were a number of interesting instances, six of which are discussed here.

Two disclaimers should be made before presenting the analysis. The following examples are illustrative of the flow of communication and interaction in "busy" classrooms and they are not presented as instances of the interaction which occur with the most frequency. Secondly, not all types of replays, and not all types of repeats and reformulations were analyzed. Only replays that occur in unprompted discourse positions are being considered, that is, those deriving from the generic sequence given earlier. It can be noted that another prevalent discourse position for the occurrence of a replay is in response to a "call for replay" or a "request for clarification" (Cherry 1979, Jefferson, 1972, Merritt 1976, Christian & Tripp

1978). With such occurrences, it is the interlocutor who initiates the replaying and thus it can not be inferred that the "replayer" would have been sufficiently motivated to have replayed the act had the prompting not occurred. Both the responses to calls for replay and the replays discussed here share the feature of responsiveness to lack of uptake to the original act. This notion of replay is directed to the redoing or replaying of an interactional move that has already been enacted and which has therefore created an opportunity for response. Thus, although repetition and reformulation occur with some frequency within a speaker's utterance move as repair devices (see Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks 1977; Humphrey 1978), these are not full replays. They will not be considered here except to note the following rather delightful instance of such move-internal reformulation: In this example both the teacher and Alexa use the discourse device of move-internal reformulation.

(2) Cutted hand off. Nursery Level.
Alexa is lying on a large piece of paper and Anita is tracing Alexa's body outline. Teacher A-2 is nearby.

Alexa: (to Anita) Anita, I want my hand more on the paper. (moving hand over)
Anita: (moves Alexa's hand over)
→ Alexa: Now I won't have to cut a hand off. Now there won't be a cutted hand off.
→ T : Are they all gonna be there? Are all your fingers gonna be there?
→ Alexa: (to T) (nodding) My other one is cut--is a cutted hand off.
→ T : How come? What happened?

Alexa: The other (( )) is a cutted hand off
because I wasn't watching and I just cut
it right off.
T : Unh-Hunh.

Consider now the following examples in which occur multiple replays that are not move-internal. It seems that, as we hypothesized, these replays do index a lack of mutual engagement. It seems further, that this can be related to individual participants' involvement with different aspects of the stream of behavior.

Two things are striking about the following examples: a) the children do indeed seem to use replays as a way of pursuing a failed attempt at engaging the teacher's attention. They are, in fact, incredibly persistent in using this device. b) In every case the soliciting child is right there with the teacher. The child is "officially involved" in the same small sphere of activity and seems to have the "right" to talk to the teacher. This is evidenced by the fact the teacher has, in all but one case, just been talking with the child, and as further evidenced by the fact that in no case was the child negatively sanctioned for talking "out of turn" but was rather simply not responded to. Yet rights to address the teacher are not enough to guarantee the child engagement of the teacher's attention upon simple solicitation. This points up the fact that not only must a child vie for the teacher's attention if s/he is outside the teacher-dominated sphere of activity (the typical case of the service-like event) but that s/he must vie for it even if within the teacher activity.

Of course, in many ways this is no news. Mehan (1979b) has discussed the interactional competence of students that is required when students attempt to initiate interchanges in the course of a lesson.

Nevertheless, analysis of the examples reveals a subtle feature of social interaction. Most "conversation", in the sense of a discourse genre, represents the verbal aspects of two, or sometimes more, parties' mutual engagement in talk, as the primary activity in which they are individually involved. But, of course, *much if not most talk* is not like this, but rather *is done in accompaniment to other individual courses of action*, such as eating a meal, or completing a lesson assignment. Cointeractants are typically more or less aware of others' individual courses of action and are alive to the fact that some talk directed toward them is to be interpreted in that light rather than as conversational; as with "Please pass the salt," or "What's five times five?" The recognition of this fact, along with the fact that more than one individual can collaborate in a joint course of action, gives rise to a notion of "*vector of activity*"."[3] Vector of activity may represent activity contributing to the course of action of one individual or a group of individuals. If we also grant that some kinds of talk, such as lesson talk, constitute courses of action, then specific topics within the talk may also be seen as separable vectors of activity that *may* be independent of particular individuals.

The following examples have been graphically prepared to "factor out" the different vectors of activity that are operating in each case. Each vector has been represented by a different number of underlinings of the name of each participant enacting a move in that vector. Single arrows → indicate occurrences of the move that is replayed. Double arrows →→, have been used to indicate the formulation of the engager solicitation that finally secured engagement.

(3) When I was in Washington

Several nursery children are seated around a table getting ready to play a "game" in which each child asks for a certain number of peanuts and then counts them. Just as they were ready to begin one child, Anita, needed her shoe tied and while teacher B-1 tied her shoe she talked about how "when I was five" she could tie her own shoe. Anita has just returned to her seat and Ms. B-1 starts to go around the table and distribute peanuts. The seating order is: Allison, Elliott, Seth, John, Anita, Catherine and Peter.

T: (reaches into bag of peanuts and pulls some out)
T: (to group) Now let's see: *How* many do you want? Hold up the number of fingers you want and I'll give you that many. (Most kids hold up one or two hands.)
T: (stands up)
→ Elliott: Ms. B-1? When I--, (1.0") When I =
T: (to Allison) = Alright, *you* want ten.
T: (dumps some peanuts in front of Allison)
→ Elliott: [Wh--] When I [was in Wash--]
T: ....[Alright.] ....[You count those while I do]
something else,
T: and........[then I'll be back to you.]
→ Elliott: [When I was in] Washing[ton,]
T: (to Seth)................................[How]
many do you want?
Seth: (holds up four fingers)
T: (to Seth) Four.
:

T: (continues around the table distributing peanuts. T
does not orient again to Elliott.)

Elliott: He:y!

T: Hey what ?

Elliott: ((I don't have--))

T: How many did you want, Elliott?

Elliott: (holds up hand -- i.e., five)

T: (to Elliott) How many did you get?

Elliott: ((Umm)) (holds up five fingers)
(1.5")

T: (to Elliott) How many peanuts are on your ((paper))?
(Lots of noise from other parts of the room.)
(1.7")
(Note: children are putting their shells on papers
in front of them)

Elliott: Umm (1.6") I [don't ((have any))]
T: [Do you know] a word for that?

Elliott: (shakes head 'no') [((None.))
Peter: None.]

T: 'None' is a good word. Does anybody else know a
good name [or a ((dif] ferent))
Allison: ....[Zero.]

T: 'Zero' is another word. (stands up with bag of peanuts
and orients to Elliott's place) We've got no=
[:ne' and we have 'zero'.
→→ Elliott: Ms. B-1, when]
I was in Washington

(Many children start speaking)

T: (leans over to hear Elliott)

Elliott: ((and I and I learned how to tie me,)) my shoe, I
tied my shoe in Washington

T: Ohh:, that's good. I really think it's neat when you know how to do that for yourself. Because you can get a lot of other things done then.

Elliott: (nods)

T: (to Elliott, holding out peanuts) and how many did you want?

Elliott: (holds up at least one hand)

T: OK (leans over and gives him some peanuts) and how many is that?

In this example, "When I was in Washington," the official vector of activity for the group is the peanut game. Elliott, however, has apparently decided that he wants to relate an "anecdote" to the teacher about shoe tying; no doubt prompted by Anita's having just told the teacher something about tying shoes while the teacher was tying her shoe. He keeps repeating "when I was in Washington," to which the teacher does not respond. She does not, in fact, attend to Elliott at all until Elliott re-enters the activity vector of the peanut game with "Hey! I don't have any." It seems that once Elliott secures the teacher's attention, however, he reverts to his own vector of activity about shoe tying. The teacher at this point succumbs to his entreaty with a relevant comment on shoe tying, and then immediately moves the interaction back into the official peanut game vector with "How many did you want?"

Referring back to the third generalization made earlier about conversational access, we can make another observation about this example: Everyone at the table was initially involved in a focussed activity, but then Mrs. B. directed some particular communication towards Elliott. When Peter chimed in with "None", Mrs. B. could have chosen to enforce conversational access in terms of designated participants and said something like "I'm asking Elliott now Peter". Instead, however, she opts for reinforcing Peter's comment as a contribution to the activity at hand with "None is a good word". She then immediately moves to "officially" open the vector of activity to others at the table with "Does anybody else know a good name or a different-?" Allison quickly offers the response, "Zero", which the teacher accepts with "'Zero' is another word."

(4) In My Pocket - Nursery Level.

Children have been playing a game in which they ask the teacher for a certain number of peanuts and then count them. T is sitting next to Sara and is helping her, though she has just been interrupted by John. Peter, Allison, and three other children are also sitting at the table working with peanuts.

T: (turns back to Sara)
T: (to Sara) Would you help yourself to five more?
Sara: (Has been stretching her arms. She stops, and
reaches towards the peanuts. (1.2"))
T: (to Sara) How ould you go about taking five?
Sara: (starts taking peanuts)
Peter: (to T) Can we save the rest of our peanuts?
T: (looks over at Peter, who is tugging on his
collar. (1.6"))
Would you like to save yours, Peter?
Peter: (nods) ((sure.))
T: Surely. Would you go to Mrs. Jones and
[ask her for a bag?
Allison: (to T).. [Can I go --,

Allison: Can I [go and get some clay?]
T: (to Peter)...[Tell her you need a little sand]wich
bag.

T: (nods at Allison) You may. Would you like to get
some clay?

Allison: (walks off camera)

T: (looks back at Sara)

Sara: (to T) ((I think that's)) ((unclear))

→ Peter: (to T) I [can carry] 'em in my=
T: (to S) ......[That's all?]

(→) Peter: (tugs on his shirt pocket)

Sara: (nods at T)

→ Peter: =upper......[pocket--,]
T: (to S)......[Would you] put them someplace
[((up here, on the table))]
→ Peter: [How 'bout my pocket] up here in my shirt?

Sara: (puts the pile of peanuts in her hands up on the
table)

T: (to Sara) How many do you have.....altogether now?

→ Peter: (tugging on shirt pocket) I've got a pocket up
here in .... my shirt.

Sara: (touching each peanut) One,
two, three, four, five,

→ Peter: (still tugging)..... I've got a pocket up here.

Sara: (still touching peanuts) six, seven, eight, nine, ten.

→ Peter: in my shirt, look.

T: (smiles at Sara)

(→) Peter: Look, Mrs. B-1!

T: (to Sara) ((Mmm-huh)). (T gets up from beside
Sara=

T: (=looks over at Peter)

(→→) Peter: Mrs. B-1?

T: (to Peter) Hmm?

→→ Peter: Look. (points at his shirt pocket)

T: Peter, that's fine, you can put them in the pocket of your shirt if you want to. But Mrs. Jones will be glad to give you a sandwich bag if you like.

In this example, "in my pocket", the peanut game of example (3) continues but is now in a different phase, such that the teacher is coordinating multiple tutorial vectors of activity with individual children. In this example she is mainly involved with Sara. Peter slots in to ask if he can take the rest of the peanuts home. The teacher engages his request with assent and the suggestion that he go get a sandwich bag. Allison then slots in to ask if she can go get some clay. The teacher engages Allison's request with assent and then returns to her tutorial vector with Sara. Peter, in the meantime, has apparently decided that he would rather put the peanuts "in my pocket" than go get a bag. As we see, he makes multiple repeats and reformulations before succeeding in engaging the teacher again. The teacher's response in the end shows that she has in fact heard Peter's requests, ("Peter, that's fine, you can put them in the pocket of your shirt if you want to.") but she seems to have waited to re-engage Peter's vector of activity until a suitable point in Sara's vector of activity had been reached for slotting out.

(5) I Haven't Done This One

A group of kindergarten children is sitting at a table opposite the teacher. They are doing a sewing exercise, and they are each asking for the teacher's help or approval as they go along.

Christina: (holding sewing out) Ms. C., look. (puts sewing down on the table) (looking at her sewing) I already did that, and, now I'm doing this.

T: (leans over and checks C's work) Where are you going now? You're going up this way. (runs finger along Christina's sewing in the direction she is to sew)

Meredith: (crawling up on table) ((Hey Mrs. C)) ((unclear))

T: (picks up Meredith's work and inspects it)

→ Christina: (to T) No, I haven't done this one. (holds up her sewing)

T: (to Meredith) Good! You finished!

→ Christina: [Ms. C., I haven't] done [this] one.
Meredith: (to T) [((unclear))]
T: (to M)..........................[OK,] ...

T: (to Meredith, turning and pointing) ...in my drawer on the right hand side, is a pile of bags, with people's names on them. (claps hands horizontally on 'a pile' to indicate a stack)

T: (to M.) Bring me the whole pile.

Meredith: (to T) ....In [((what))]↑?
T: (leaning left) [Carter?] (apparently sanctioning C for shouting)
→ Christina: (to T) [Ms. C.,] I haven't done this one.=

Meredith: (to T) = In what↑?

T: (starts to bite thread on Meredith's sewing, then stops)

Meredith: (to T) In what [((drawer))? In what ((drawer))?]
→ Christina: [Ms. C., I haven't done]
this one.

T: (to Meredith; points off camera) In the--, in
the shelf, in the drawer, by the sink.........
[on the right-] hand side.
(→) Christina: (softer voice [Ms. C.?]
than earlier)

T: (to Meredith) ((tha-)), No. On the left-hand
side. [((The w-, ch-))]
(→) Christina: (looking over to where T
is pointing) [Ms. C.?]

Meredith: (stands up and starts to walk away toward the
drawer)

T: (to M) The side clos[est to] the window.
(→) Christina: ....[Ms. C-]

Meredith: (holds arm out in the 'I gotcha' gesture)

→ Christina: Ms. C., I haven't done this one yet...

(T makes a hand gesture to someone off-camera)

T: (swings back around and gazes in Christina's
general direction)

→ Christina: (to T) ...And I've done this one only.

T: (still has not acknowledged Christina)

→ Christina: (to T) Ms. C., I've only done this one.

(T swings around in her seat toward the nearby table and holds
both hands out with palms down in a 'keep it down' gesture (2.6"))

T: (to Meredith, off camera) In the right-hand side.

→ Christina: ....[Ms. C, I haven't done this one yet.]
Tanya: (to T) [((unclear))]

T: (to Tanya) Don't worry about it.

T: ... [Just take your time.]
Tanya: (to T) [((unclear)] ((un[clear))
T: (in response to Tanya............ [What↓?]
Tanya: (to T) [((unclear))
→ Christina: (to T).......... [And--,] and Ms. C., I've
only done this one.
T: (looking at Tanya's sewing) OK::. You're doing
fine. You're doing a beautiful jo-, job Tanya.
T: (leans across table to get the scissors, which
are right beside Christina)
→→ Christina: Ms. C., I haven't --, I've just done --, I've
just done this one and not this one
[and--, not this one.]
T: (looking at C's sewing) [Yeah, well you]
go up here, and then we can do this.
T: (taps Christina's sewing with her scissors)

In this fifth example, "I haven't done this one," a situation similar to that of the "In my pocket" example arises in a different classroom. Here the children are individually sewing. The teacher briefly engages Christina's request to check her work and then goes on to engage Meredith in preparing for the next phase of the sewing task. Christina, in the meantime, finds something in her sewing that she thinks the teacher didn't notice. As with Peter's change from initial concurrence with the teacher (in that case not wanting to use a bag but rather his pocket to take home his peanuts), multiple repeats and reformulations take place before re-engagement in Christina's vector of activity is established.

(6) My Turn - Kindergarten Level.

Teacher C is playing a math game using dice with three children, Carter, John, and Robin. Although there is another helping teacher in the room who is supervising other children, there have been some interruptions. The teacher is just finishing some remarks to a child who is not in the game. Tanya is still at the game table although she is no longer playing.

John: (to group) Whose turn?
Robin: (hands John the dice)
T: (shifts gaze back to game table)
T: (to John) It's yours.
John: (rolling dice) Here I go:.
(1.5")
T: (reading dice)..... Three: [::::.
Tanya: (looking off camera) [Can I] paint [the dino] =
saur now?
→ Carter: [My turn.]
John: (picks up chips, then drops them) (2.2")
→ Carter: My turn.
John: (gets three chips and puts them near himself) (2.6")
→ Carter: My turn.
T: (to John) You forgot one thing. Two and three is..?
(John now has five chips) (2.1")
→ Carter: My turn.
John: (stares at T) (2.1")
→ Carter: My turn.
Tanya: (gets up and leaves the table) (1.3")
→ Carter: My turn.
T: (reaches out for chips) (1.1")
T: (to John) Two:.
(o.6")

→→ Carter: (to T) I said "My turn:'.
(←) T: Go ahead, Carter.
T: (to John) And three, is five. Right?
John: (nods)
Carter: (picks up die and rolls)
T: (to John) So you've traded four of those in for
the yellow. You still have.... [one green.]
((→)) Carter: (slaps table after reading die) [Oh I have,] six! =
T: (to John) = You have to take them out,
((→)) Carter: (taking chips) I have =
T: (to John) So you [won't] get mixed up.
Carter: [six.]
John: (staring across the room; it sounds like someone is
crying)
T: (to John) Because you just --,
(0.9")
(→) Carter: (to T) Look [how many] I got.
T: .... [Joh:n?]
(→) Carter: (puts hand on T's shoulder)
John: (looks back at T)
T: (to John) By not putting this green here you put
yourself behind.
(→→) Carter: (starts tapping T's shoulder rapidly)
T: (to John) You may need this green one later to
get some more yellows. 'Kay?
John: (nods)
(←) T: (turns to Carter, who is tapping her shoulder)
Carter: (starts taking chips and putting them beside
himself)) One. Two-, two.
←← T: (to Carter) ((Wha-)) What did you [throw?]
Carter: (counting and taking chips)......... [Three:,] four,

Carter: (stands and points at the chips)
Carter: Five, six.
(1.1")
Carter: (to T) Too: many to catch. (i.e., ...up with me)
Carter: (counting accumulated pile) Let me see how many --,
T: (to Carter) [Let's see how] many four's you have.
Carter: (pointing) [One, two,]
T: (to Carter) How many groups of four's

The "my turn" example (Example 6) is similar to the others in that the teacher seems to be intent on maintaining the instructional integrity of tutorial vectors of activity that come up in the context of the group game, first with John and later with Carter. It is a little different in that the game is more "group" oriented (i.e. there is some focus on a single winner: "Too: many to catch"). However, it seems clear that once John has rolled the dice, Carter acts as though John's claim on the group's attention, including the teacher's is over. Carter's repeated "my turn" is finally reformulated as "I said, my turn" and responded to by the teacher briefly with "Go ahead, Carter". Nevertheless she does not totally engage in Carter's vector of activity until she is ready to disengage from John's.

(7) Batik - Nursery Level.

Teacher B-1 is working with Seth individually on making a batik. Another child, Jackie, has been working with the materials and is almost finished. T has just been discussing with Seth the size of his piece of cloth which they agree would be "big enough for a car." They are walking from the table where they have been working together on cutting the cloth toward the dye vats where Jackie is finishing her work.

T: (nodding) It would be big enough for a car.

Seth: (to T) A yellow car. O.K.?

(No audible response from T. (1.6"))

→ Seth: (to T) No, a colorful car.

(T stands up and starts walking with Seth over to the table where Jackie is using the batik dyes and wax.)

T: All right. [((Now)) if] you want a yellow

(→) Seth: [I-, I-, I-,]

T: car let me tell you something about batiks, all right?

(T bends down to inspect Jackie's design.)

(→) Seth: But Ms. [Bl?] (trailing behind T to table)

T: [Oh:,] look at Jackie's design. [Ahh:.

(→) Seth: [Mrs. Bl?]

T: (starting to pick up J's batik)

(←) T: Yes, Seth.

(→) Seth: (to T) But, I want to dip-,]

T: (to J) [((Jackie), if you'll] put your fingers, if I get it away from the hot pan then I don't have to do it any more then you...

T: (to J) [((unclear))]

(→) Seth: [Ms. B-l?]

(T and Jackie seem to be maneuvering the batik. (1.2"))

→ Seth: Oh Ms. Bl? I want to dip mine in yellow,...

T: (to J) That's good. [((unclear))]

→ Seth: .[.red and] blue. I want to dip mine in yellow red and blue.

← T: Oh, those are nice colors to dip in, Seth. I think that'll be nice if you dip it ((unclear))

(→) Seth: And I do want (emphatically) to do that. I do
[so want to,]
T: (to Seth) [((unclear)) has] to dry in
between each shade =
Seth: = Yeah.
T: (to S) All right. Each color.
Seth: (Hums) Hmm [mmmm. mmm.]
T: (to S) [All right. Now] here's your piece
You spread it out on the paper.
(T hands Seth his cloth. He spreads it out on the work
desk. (2.7"))
T: (sitting down beside him) Now you said something about having a yellow car.
→→ Seth: Yeah, and red and blue. But [we have-,]
←← T: [All right.]

The "Batikked" example in (7) illustrates an even more subtle differentiation. Here the teacher seems to have attended to or "tuned in on" [illegible] engagement with Seth to the extent that she has processed his interest in making his batik a particular color.") ("a yellow car OK?" but seems to have not tuned in on Seth's taking back of that answer with another answer ("No, a colorful car"). As in other examples the teacher seems to have reoriented her attention after processing the child's initial concern ("Allright. Now if you want to make a yellow car.."), and it takes Seth several entreaties to establish his change from "yellow" to "colorful" (yellow, red, and blue) as part of the vector of activity in which the teacher is engaged with him.

Clearly each of the examples could be discussed in more detail, and it should be noted that many more examples could be given, but enough has been presented to make the following points:

1. To make sense of the verbal activity surrounding a primary classroom teacher during individualized instruction time it seems useful to think in terms of how talk engagement comes about. Since much of what goes on does not have a single focus for the individuals involved, the notions of getting the floor and getting a turn do not always apply. Often other parameters like "conversational access" seem to best describe the flow of interaction. Conversational access, however, is a complex notion that interrelates other parameters. It would seem that these include not only activity matrices and participant structures, but something like specific vectors of activity as well. We have seen that a vector of activity may be derived from an activity matrix, as was Ms. B-1's concern for the peanut game in the "When I was in Washington" segment, or from an individual participant's agenda. The teacher has a special interactional role which is reflected in the control she exercises over the vector of activity that she is engaged in, and in the extent to which students seek to engage her in their individual vectors of activity.

2. It seems apparent that nursery and kindergarten aged children are indeed sensitive to whether or not they have secured the engagement of proposed interlocutors in their vectors of activity, and that they are persistent in replaying engager solicitations when no uptake is made. Repeats and reformulations are discourse resources that children use extensively in these replayings. We can propose, in fact, that the number of times an engager solicitation is replayed provides some index of the amount of effort a child is willing to make to engage the interlocutor, which is perhaps some index of the degree of communicative intent. Repeats and reformulations have been found to operate as engager replays at all five grade levels, but at the

first, second, and third grade levels, this seems to occur more frequently when students are trying to engage other students than when trying to engage the teacher.

3. The notions of talk engagement and vector of activity are not tied to the examples presented nor to only those situations in which repeats and reformulations occur. Rather, it seems likely that these notions may be used to enhance the analysis of other examples of social interaction.

For example, these notions can be applied to the analysis of service-like events discussed earlier, in the following way: In what we might think of as the "service-like-event pre-situation" the following is typical: the teacher is engaged with one or a small group of children in some focused activity. The teacher's involvement with this activity constitutes his or her main involvement. Whatever goes on in the group interaction that contributes to the "ongoingness" of that activity can be thought of as part of that "vector of activity". Vectors of activity may be independent of particular individuals. When a child from outside that activity solicits the attention of the teacher for help, the child's requirement demands that the teacher become involved in a secondary vector of activity. In terms of having the teacher's attention, the child is trying to "get in". In terms of vectors of activity the child is not usually trying to "get in" to the teacher's vector of activity but rather to draw out the teacher's involvement into his/her own vector of activity.

It may be worth noting that this situation, shared by both the service-like event and the examples given in this sub-section, seems to be different from most studies of children's access rituals that are reported in the literature. For example, in

Corsaro's (1979) work with preschool children the main concern was with the initiating child _joining_ the activity of another. Here the age level or the grade level of the children observed may be a major factor. Though not conclusively documented, one cross-sectional difference that we think we have found in the service-like event data is the following: when nursery school children solicit the teacher's involvement away from an activity in which she is engaged with another child, the teacher will sometimes handle the situation by drawing the soliciting child _into_ the teacher activity. (T: "That's very interesting Johnny, but right now Scott has something he very much wants to tell _us_ about.") In a similar vein, I pointed out in the discussion of example (3) When I was in Washington, the way in which the teacher opted to accept as appropriate Peter's answer to a question addressed to Elliott. It seems that in the "upper" grades such infractions are less tolerated and a soliciting child is less often asked to join in but is expected rather to wait.

NOTES

[1] Some of the analysis in this subsection was presented at the 1979 American Anthropological Association meetings and revised for submission as a paper to the journal Discourse Processes. I am grateful to Courtney Cazden, Louise Cherry Wilkinson, Frank Humphrey, Hugh Mehan, and Sylvia Scribner for comments helpful to revision.

[2] For a nice discussion of many of the things involved in being a "competent student" see Mehan 1979b.

[3] The notion of "vector of activity" is a spin-off of my reading of a paper by Grace Shugar (1978) in which she discusses the notion of children's individual courses of action. I am grateful to Erving Goffman for pointing out its possible relevance to this study.

D. More On Modality: Dual Processing, Slotting, Modality Splitting, Modality Focus, and Inferencing; And A Note On Ritual[1]

In this subsection I would like to briefly tie together some of the threads of analysis that have been presented so far. We started out talking about the basic modality (for either social or task participation) as being that of a whole person in face to face interaction. At a later point I introduced the notion of "vector of activity" as a line of action being pursued or engaged in by one or more persons. Thus, for some kind of ideal model of participation we might say that at any point in time each person uses the basic holistic modality to involve him/herself completely in a single vector of activity.

Such a model is, of course, more fantasy than reality for both students and teachers. In a busy classroom with many activities going on, the teacher is rarely (if ever) free to involve him/herself "completely" in one activity. Though he/she will ordinarily have one "main" vector of activity, the responsibility that the teacher has for what goes on generally means that he/she must constantly be attuned to happenings outside the "main" activity. The teacher's participation thus requires dual (or multiple) processing.

Further, given the fact that the teacher's attention and involvement is probably the most valued "commodity" for the conduct of any classroom activity, he/she must be concerned with how that attention is parcelled out among the student participants (see Cazden 1974).

Most teachers probably try to do a lot of this "structurally" - by organizing reading groups, math groups, etc., such that each group is scheduled to get an equal amount of teacher time (but see McDermott and Gospodinoff for systematic problems). With individual tasks, the teachers often ask students (who have not themselves solicited tutorial monitoring through service-like events) to "bring their work" over to where the teacher is "posted".

This ideal system might work very smoothly "if only students could work independently."

Oddly enough, however, it seems to me that often the very children that a teacher may designate as "unable to work independently" are ones who sometimes display great powers of concentration and involvement in individual tasks. The problem seems to be that "working independently" in a classroom with several other children does not necessarily mean great absorption in independent tasks. This is because a necessary feature of "working independently" in the classroom is (again!) dual-processing of the individual task and whatever else is going on in the classroom.

There are at least two reasons for this: One is that the teacher wants and needs to have access to every child's attention, with minimum effort, more or less whenever the teacher demands it. Thus, although children may be expected to work independently and be "on task" and "involved with their work", they are also expected to pick up on the teacher's request for focussed attention at any time. Of course teachers are aware that for children to become sufficiently involved in their work to be really on task they must tune out a lot of what is perceptually available to them; children must learn the modalities through which they are to channel their participation and the relative "communicative loading" (see section III-B earlier) of the entire repertoire of modalities that are involved in classroom communication.

Thus in order to get children's attention teachers develop special communicative devices that intrude upon those modalities the children have learned to work in. The most straightforward technique is for the teacher to suddenly speak in a much louder voice, usually with a discourse marker and terms of address ("Allright boys and girls; O.K. now class.) But many teachers also develop idiosyncratic devices like turning off the lights, shouting out "heads up," shouting out " eyes up", shouting out "Freeze", etc. (see Cahir 1978, Shultz, Florio and Erickson 1980). An instance of the former more straightforward technique is shown in the following example:

(1). "Interruptions Lesson". Third Grade. January. Late Morning.

(Children are scattered about the room doing individual or small group activities such as reading, playing a dice game, spelling, mathematics. Teacher has just finished a tutorial session with one child)

→ T (full voice): Alright, would everybody begin to clean up, and meet me on the rug. (2.9")

T : Everybody clean up and meet me on the rug.

(Chn. start getting up and putting books, boxes, etc. away and gather on rug; a few minutes pass as the whole class assembles.)

T : Alright, folks, we have a real problem, (taps left hand with book in right hand on the word "real")

T : It's January the, twentieth, and we still have it (taps book on the words "still" and "I'm"). (1.0")

161

Katie : What ?

T (to Katie
and group : When I'm working with someone, and you
interrupt me.
(1.2")

T : Now that's not fair to that person.
(facing group) Now what (taps book
lightly on "fair" and on "about") can
we do about that? (2.4")

Katie : (raises hand)

Robin : (raises hand)

T : Alright, Katie. = What [can you do?]

Katie : [Go to ano]ther
person

Robin : (raises hand)

T : Alright. What's another thing, Robin?

Robin : Well we could make a chart, and umm,
((it would)) have everybody's name
on it, and we could make little slips
that say who's working with you. And
then, i-, i-, after that person leaves
they take their name off and if somebody, wants to come up to you, they put
their name and they come-

→ T : Well, can't you just see when somebody's
with me?

Robin : Mmm-huh.

Charlie : (raises hand, which he lowers and raises
again over the next few sentences)

T : Do you have to look at a chart heh?
(gives small laugh.)

Robin : Yeah, but usually after someone's finished people run up and then they ((or something. I dunno.))

T : Alright,

→ T : Would it help, Robin, then if I had, after I

T : worked with one person alone, if I had a few minutes before I worked with somebody else?

Others : [Yes.

Robin : Mmm-huh.]

T : I try to do that.
(0.8")

Robin : Well then y:, you should change them. (1.1") So when, (1.0") you take the name out, [(it's)]

T : [I'm] just not willing, I'll just tell you right now, to go through making a cha:rt. That's just, too organized for me.

T : Now I try to let you know when I'm through with somebody, so you can see. (2.3") I will make sure after each person that I say, "OK, anybody need help before I go on?" What else, Charlie?

Charlie : 'Uh, well what if somebody needs (like), what if some-, i- if something, that, that y'know, somebody else won't know? And... (1.0")

→ T : Then what could you do?
→ Ann : Wait.
Cindy : Wait.
Charlie : Wait?
Charlie : What if it's the last thing, (y'know).
It's Friday and it's the last thing.
T (shaking head
"no") : Oh:, Charlie, [you always] present a
Charlie : [Well I mean it!]
T : catastrophic, so-, situation. That
would very rarely happen. = If it's the
last thing on Friday, and you have nothing
else to do, I [will let] you interrupt me.
Charlie : [Interrupt]
Charlie : (claps hands several times: Good!
T : 'Cause I don't believe it will happen
all year.
→ T : (pointing at Charlie) But Charlie, what
could you do, if you can't get something,
and no one can help you except me, what
would you do?
→ Others : "Wait" (several voices more or less
simultaneously.)
Laura : [And do something else.]
→ T : [Well, not just wait,] but what ? (looks
at Laura)
→→ Laura : Do something else [while you're] waiting.
→→ T : [Right.]
T : OK.
(Katie) : Play a game then.

Chris : Rea:d. [Read.]
(Katie) : [Play] (( )).
Charlie : But then, but then, s-, (well
[what if we)]
T : [Uh, Charlie,]
T : I don't want you to just present me,
[all these,] (holds hand out at Charlie)
Charlie : [Well I'm not.]
T : d, situations that are far-fetched. = I
want.
T : some practical solutions.
Chris : [Eh!]
Charlie : [((I know)),] but then when, but, nnn, you're
(0.9") when you're playing a game, some-
one, y-, you get finished (and then) some-
one else come, someone else,
T : A[lright I said] I will let you [know when I]
Charlie : [comes ((along))] [((Oh, OK.))]
T : am finished, so you can, pop up and ask
me, OK?
Charlie : (nods) (('Kay.))
T : Alright. Uhh, Chris?
Chris : Yeah?
(1.3")
T : You must just stop and remember. You
come up to me just-, and you, don't stop
and look. Think. Peter, you need to work
on that too.
(1.4")

T : Just like a bull in a china closet.

X : Heh heh. (chuckle.)

→ T : It can wait. (1.9") (And) can we work
on that, tomorrow? Y'know, you had a
good work period today. But there was-,
I mean this is-, I just hate to keep
nagging. = I feel like, the biggest
[crab] apple to come [down] the pike,

Charlie : [Nag.] [Nag.]

T : but you, [int]errupt me

Charlie : [Nag=]

(T taps her glasses on book on "int-," and
"rupt.")
(1.0") (End of "Interruptions" topic)

T : O[K.] = [Now] what do you want to do after lunch

Charlie (softly) : [Nag.] [Nag]

T : about free play? = It's cold.
(Greg, and then Charlie, raise hands
briefly.)

T : Alright. If you stay in here, I think
we'll learn how to, take a, longer than
free play, and learn how to play
"Charades".
(Several chn. murmur approval. Charlie
slaps knee in disapproval.)

(Peter) : Oh I know how to play.

X : I love that game.

T : Alright, well some people do and some
don't. But if you want to go out, we
will. (1.1")

T : So think. (1.4") Alright, should we vote?
Many Chn. : Yeah.
T : OK.
(2.0")
T : (Now) who wants to go out?
((Katie and Charlie raise hands, then Katie lowers hers. Greg and Leonidis raise hands, then see they are in the minority, and lower their hands. Finally Charlie lowers his hand. Several chn. laugh. Elapsed time from "out" to laughs: (3.1"))
((T starts to count hands but sees them going down.))
T : Charlie, stand up, (nodding) if you want to go out, you keep [your hand] up. Stand up.
Charlie : [((I do.))]
T : for what you want.
Charlie : (unclear)
Several : (( ))
T : Who wants to [stay in,] then?
Charlie : [((what for?))]
(Many chn. (at least 10) raise hands.)
T : (to Charlie) Huh?
(Chn. in majority laugh.)
Peter : I think we win.
(Several chn. laugh.)
T : [Alright.] surveying room.
Katie : [Only] three people want to go [out.]
T : [O.]K.
So we stay. Do you, how many of you would like to play charades?

(It appears that the same individuals
who raised their hands to stay inside
also want to play charades.) END EXAMPLE

The second reason that dual processing is a necessary feature of "working independently in the classroom" was also illustrated in the example just given. This second reason has to do with service-like events, with getting help or soliciting monitoring behavior from the teacher. Frequently, when a child is working independently on a task, the nature of the task is such that the child may need help midway through (e.g. how to spell a word) or need to have his/her work checked over for mistakes (especially with math assignments). If a child is working independently exactly when these needs arise will be independent of what others are doing, including the teacher. Needing the teacher doesn't guarantee that the teacher will be responsive to a child's request at just that moment, however. The teacher will ordinarily want to be responsive to such a request whenever it comes, but s/he will also want to preserve the integrity of the vector of activity in which s/he is involved when the child's request comes.

In fact, one generalization that seems to hold for our data is the following: Once a teacher has actually engaged herself in a particular vector of activity she will aim to preserve the integrity of that vector of activity and seems to "feel obliged" to stay within that vector of activity until it is resolved or until some degree of ritual closure has been achieved with respect to her interruption of it or her departure from it.

This means that the teacher may have to choose between competing demands for his/her attention (ordinarily the teacher's "current" involvement is with one or a small group of other children).

We may generate some more generalizations or "rules" by asking two basic questions: The first is, "What are some reasons for a teacher's attending immediately to a child who is not 'currently' in the teacher's vector of activity?" The answer to this question seems to depend not only (or even primarily) on whether the child solicits the teacher's attention but also (or more) on *why* attention seems needed. This may be an "emergency" (an injury or spilt paint), a time for the first greeting of the day, a display of misinformation (e.g. "Detergent is not the borax"), a perceived-to-be-brief inquiry ("May I get the gerbils set?"), a "return" (for clarification, checking, or direction in the next phase of activity), or a display that a child is in danger of not staying "in". The last reason is shown in example (2):

(2) *Baking Session. Nursery. January. Mid Morning.*

(Several children are at a table with the teacher who is letting various ones of them stir and "have a taste". Several children have been clamoring to be next, but not Brian who is farthest away from the teacher and seems to be starting to "act silly")

T : Let's let David have his turn now, and then somebody else can do it.
Holly : It's *snack* time.
Brian (to H) : No, it's not snack time, it's ((crackers)) time.
Brian : (pretends to spoon flour out of a bowl.)
Brian : No, it's, it's flour time.
Alexa : (to T) Then can I [do it?]
→ T : [Brian,] do you want to help cook, in a minute?

The second basic question is What are some reasons for a teacher's not immediately attending to a child who is actively soliciting attention? The answers to this question include the possibilities that the teacher didn't hear or notice the solicitation, and that the teacher may anticipate that the child's reason for wanting attention either doesn't really require (or deserve) attention as in (3):

(3) *Dictionary Lesson. Third Grade. January.*

(T is working with three children on dictionaries. A fourth child, Robin has approached the table and hovered around for several minutes, lingering near the teacher, who has not attended to her)

T : Alright, let's see if
[you can look up the wor:d.]
Robin : [((Excuse me)) Mrs. Ixxxx?]
T : (1.8")
T : (looking up at Robin) What are you
[forget]ting?
Robin : [Umm,]
(1.2")
T : Is [this an] emergency?
Robin : [((unclear))]
Robin : Kind of.
T : Well let's hear it.
Robin : Umm where is the "Understanding Questions" answers?=
→ T : =That's *not* an emergency. (shaking head vigorously)
(Robin turns and starts walking off.)
→ T : You can find something else to do.
T (to group) : Alright, I want you to look up - think - where would the, the word 'numb' begins with what ?

or that to address the child's problem will take too much time away from the current teacher activity. The major factor in not immediately attending to a child's active solicitation seems to be the degree of jeopardy to the teacher's primary vector of activity. This depends both on the anticipated nature of the soliciting child's request (especially, how long it is likely to take) and the nature or phase of the teacher-involved vector of activity (this latter feature was also noted by Shultz (1977) in his analysis of a tic-tac-toe game and in various recent analyses by Erickson, Florio, and Shultz).

At this point it may be useful to focus not on the "rules" for participating in the classroom, but rather on how the participants cope with the communicative demands of the situation. We have seen that some kind of dual processing is required of both students and teachers.

Still we can ask if there seems to be any particular communicative skills that teachers call upon to maximize, within fairly brief segments of time, the number of children and activities with whom and with which they are involved.

One such communicative skill seems to be what I have called "slotting". I have already sneaked this term into my previous discussion of how teachers handle service-like events. They "slot-out" of their main activity to attend to children who need outside help. As I have suggested earlier (section III-B), this slotting-out is usually coordinated with verbally "down-time" in the teacher's main involvement. What I would now like to point out is that this is something that teachers do - with respect to the "host" or main-involvement activity - whether or not there is a child waiting at the teacher's elbow for attention. This is what happens in (4):

(4) "While she's doing that". Nursery Level.

(T has been working with one child on a water experiment. She has just sent that child to get some water).

T: (turning around in her chair, talking to self)
While she's doing that,

T(to Anita): Anita? Can I help you get some glue?

This also happens in example (5) to follow. Here we can begin to see more clearly the impact of the instructional approach on the patterns of interaction. It seems that, instructionally, these teachers are committed to working with students in a way that always involves a minimum amount of the teacher actually doing part of the activity (see especially, Batikked of III-A). This allows the child maximal participation in accomplishing tasks, which is highly desirable. This feature, however, creates interactional lags or "down-times" that are akin to "transactional pauses" (see Adelman 1976, Merritt 1976a) for the teacher. Because her involvement in individual children's vectors of activity is so important, the teacher usually uses these down times to slot out to another vector of activity while "waiting" for the "current child" to get to the next phase of his/her activity (for which s/he needs the teacher's involvement).

This is a positive feature in that it allows the teacher to be multiply involved over some stretch of time. But if the engagement in the secondary vector of activity turns out to take longer (especially if it's a lot longer) than the time needed for the "current child" to complete the independent phase of his/her task, this feature can mean that the child(ren) in the teacher's "primary" vector of activity - her "official" involvement - turns out to be the one(s) to be "waiting". We see a hint of this in (5):

(5) Make a Arrow. Nursery. October. Early Morning.

(Teacher Al is sitting at a table with four girls. Alexa and Kathy are each working alone on some drawings. T is taking dictation from Emily about what E has drawn on a paper. Susan is watching T and Emily.)

Emily: An-, an-, and that's th-, my, dress.

T: (writing) And I'm:, sitting, on, the, branch,
(Alexa looks over at T for a few seconds.)

T: And that's my dre:ss.

(T finishes writing. (2.0"))

T: Wow. [What a story.]

Emily: (pointing) [Make a, make] a arrow because they; my parents want me [((unclear))]

→ T: (pointing with marker at paper) [Do you want to] make the arrow?

Emily: O.K.

T: (gives Emily the marker pen and as Emily leans down to draw,

T: leans back in her chair and scans the table. T looks at Alexa, who is staring with a blank expression across the table. (3.4"))

T: Alexa, it looks to me like you're writing some of the words that you see there, writing your name over ((it)).

Alexa: (On the word 'like', Alexa's gaze shifts back to the paper and she begins drawing again with the marker pen.)

Alexa: ((I had)) to write my name because I covered it.

T: Ohh:, I see what you [mean.]

→ Susan: (to T, about Emily) [Look at] her arrow!

T: (looks at Emily and paper) That's terrific. Would you like to put this in a matte, so it's really special looking? Put some colored paper...

Sometimes, of course, the basic set-up for the teacher's involvement is not that of one "primary" vector of activity (as with a "dictation tutorial" or a reading group) and other secondary ones. The distribution of the teacher's involvement may, rather, be set up as more of a "round" - in which there is one basic activity that several children are individually working on, which has many segments which may be "punctuated" with brief teacher engagements. This was essentially the case with the "peanut game" in our nursery data (see earlier examples). In set-ups like this, the teacher may sometimes specifically say something about the in and outness of her involvement (with the child's individual carrying out of his/her activity). For example, as Ms. B-1 distributes peanuts she says to Allison, "You count these while I do something else, and then I'll be back to you." And a few moments later she says to Catherine, "You count those while I come back ((to you))."

So far we have been talking about slotting as completely "leaving", if only for a short time, one vector of activity to engage in another. But, as I have suggested earlier, one vector of activity requires one modality for engagement or involvement and we have been talking about the whole person modality.

However, this is not the only option for meeting the dual processing requirements of a busy classroom. In response to the multiple-foci of activities in the classroom, the teacher often seems to develop a skill for "splitting" the communication channels and thereby multiplying the number of modalities with which he/she can participate communicatively. As discussed in another section, there is first and most obviously the split between verbal and non-verbal modalities, but frequently the verbal modality is again split by distinctions in tone of voice or rhythm (as cadence). These multiple modalities serve to designate participation by the teacher with multiple sets of classroom participants (and their attendant activities). In the following example Mrs. C. is helping Sam with a task that involves matching colors and letters. She has her back to the wall and is facing the door (as well as Sam) when a late student comes in. Mrs. C. "slots-out" in mid-sentence to greet Carter (here I have tried to indicate cadence with # under the rhythmically stressed items of the "split" sentence).

(6) "Hi Carter". Kindergarten.

T: What color is next to G?
Sam: White.
T: No, that's G. The letter G is white. But what

is the color Hi, Carter next to it?
(higher pitch) #
(looks at Carter)

The possibility of splitting the verbal modality in this way seems to depend on two things: (1) maintenance of the verbal rhythm of the primary vector of activity (with Sam); this preserves the integrity of the vector of activity; and (2) some non-verbal signal that serves to direct attention toward some portion of the verbal modality as belonging to a second vector of activity (to avoid confusing participants in the primary vector).

At first this analysis may seem quite complex and addressed, possibly, to a unique example. But a moment's reflection about everyday interactional situations in which we are involved in more than one vector of activity (as at a dinner table) serves to remind us of how non unique is the splitting of the verbal modality in this manner. Nor is this a phenomenon of mid-twentieth century life. Quite by chance, shortly after I had identified this phenomenon in our classroom data, I came across the following passage in an 1874 novel by Wilkie Collins. The passage is especially interesting because it doesn't simply describe the dialog between three people in which the dialog is clearly related to two different vectors of activity. Collins also uses punctuation (parentheses) to make it clear what pieces of the dialog belong to which vector, and then goes on to describe the interruptive quality that is experienced when one of three participants is not fully attentive to which vector of activity is the primary one and which vector of activity is the subordinate one. The three particiipatns are Mr. Phippen (host), Miss Sturch (the Phippen children's governess), and Doctor Chenney (vicar and guest):

> "Treverton!" exclaimed Mr. Phippen, holding his tea-cup, with the grated ginger in the bottom of it, to be filled by Miss Sturch. "Treverton! (No more tea, dear Miss Sturch.) How very remarkable! I know the name. (Fill up with water, if you please.) Tell me, my dear doctor (many, many thanks; no sugar-it turns acid on the stomach), is this Miss Treverton whom you have been marrying (many thanks again; no milk, either) one of the Cornish Trevertons?"
>
> "To be sure she is!" rejoined the vicar. "Her father Captain Treverton, is the head of the family. Not that there's much family to speak of now. The Captain, and Rosamond, and that whimsical old brute of an uncle of hers Andrew Treverton, are the last left now of the old stock - a rich family, and a fine family, in former times - good friends to Church and State, you know, and all that-"
>
> "Do you approve, Sir, of Amelia having a second helping of bread and marmalade?" asked Miss Sturch,

176

> appealing to Doctor Chennery, with the most perfect unconsciousness of interrupting him. Having no spare room in her mind for putting things away in until the appropriate time came for bringing them out, Miss Sturch always asked questions and made remarks the moment they occurred to her, without waiting for the beginning, middle, or end of any conversations that might be proceeding in her presence. She invariably looked the part of a listener to perfection, but she never acted it except in the case of talk that was aimed point-blank at her own ears.

As discussed in earlier sections, however, the major modality split is between verbal and non-verbal. In certain teacher dominated vectors of activity, such as reading, there seems to be an almost official split in the teacher's involvement. The verbal modality is reserved for the primary vector of activity (reading) while the non-verbal modality is largely available for secondary vectors of activity, including service-like events. In the case of reading as the "host" event or primary vector of activity, it would seem that this is especially facilitated by a couple of factors: (1) the verbal modality must be available for oral reading (2) reading involves the children's focussed visual attention on the text, so that, ideally, if the teacher is gesturing with her hands to other children or non-verbally engaged in a service-like event (e.g. checking a math assignment), this should be minimally disruptive to the reading vector.

In the following example, we see the teacher slot-out of a reading vector using the verbal modality ("Hunh-unh, Hunh-unh"). This seems to have been necessary to ensure swift and immediate action. However, it is also clearly confusing to the child who is reading ("I thought you were talking to me"):

(6) "Hunh-unh, Hunh, uh" Third Grade. January. Mid-Morning.

(T is reading with two children, Billy and Katie):

Billy: but they did not use this fine thread.

(Peter and Charlie's voices can be heard in the meeting area)

T: (looks up and scans room.)

→ T: (toward P, C and L in full voice) Hunh-unh, (T shakes head 'no'.)

Billy: (continuing to read) They=

→ T: (toward P, C and L) = Hunh-unh

(Group on rug stares at T, who shakes her head 'no' several times in an exaggerated fashion.

Billy: (looks up at T with quizzical expression),

Billy: (turns and follows T's gaze back toward Peter, Charlie and Lindsay.

(4.0"))

Billy: (turning back toward T) I thought you were saying I didn't read it ((ri-)). What was he doing?

(Charlie and then Peter stand up and walk over beside T as Billy speaks.)

Peter: (to T) No multiplication ((board))

T: (shaking head 'no') Nope, not [now.]

Peter: (to T, probably) [Why] don't we play in the hall?

T: (T, who has been looking down at table, draws back in her chair and turns and faces Peter.) No, because I've already got two people out there. [Your voices-,]

Charlie: (to T) [((unclear))]

T: (shaking head 'no') No, not in Mr. F-, (adding a note of incredulousness) You're gonna be noisy in someone else's class?

T: (to C and P) There will be another time when you can play it.

(T scratches above upper lip.)

T: Get back to something else that's quieter.

(While T is still turned toward P and C, Billy begins reading. (0.8"))

Billy: "They kept it for:," (reading)

(P and C walk off camera into the classroom.)

T: (snaps back into reading posture, facing center of table and looking down at the book.)

Billy: "Themselves, and then they went, o:n, pretending to work until, far into the: night."

T: Good.

Another result of the teacher's slot-out using the verbal modality is that it stops the reading vector. This is an "impairment" to the integrity of the reading vector. On the other hand, though, the teacher does not "open up" the "Hunh-unh" vector to the reading participants and Billy's query ("What did he do?") is not attended to. What Billy then opts to do - wait until the teacher is finished with her other vector and then begin reading again as though nothing had happened - seems to have been "the right thing to do".

This whole area of analysis is obviously very complicated. One thing seems clear, though: As the teacher develops more complicated communicative skills, the children have to develop more complicated communicative skills also - the children have to develop counterparts. In other words, by developing "slotting" and modality splitting skills teachers are in some sense "carrying the weight" of distributing their attention. This is, of course, helpful - especially to the children who are "outside" the teachers main involvement. At the same time, though, it puts more of a burden on children who are involved with the teacher-focussed activity. They have to constantly and more closely monitor when the teacher is talking to them and when not, when the teacher expects them to be listening and/or to make a response and when not. I don't claim to have figured out the consequences of all this (or how much it is subject to change), but it seems important, and closely related to some more instructional aspects of teaching.[2]

I am thinking here of the more general issue of focus of attention. This is, of course, a crucial issue for teaching and learning and one that has been studied extensively by psychologists (see especially the work of Bruner and that of the Russian psychologist Vygotsky). I do not presume to enter into this psychological dialog, but would merely like to point to the way in which there is an interface between what we might think of as focus in terms of task curriculum and what we might think of as focus in terms of social interactional enactment of a "teaching and learning sequence". An effective implementation of a task curriculum item, it seems, requires sometimes that teachers as well as the students make adjustments in their orientation to "what is going on" in the current interaction. If the teacher merely assumes that the students are focussing on a certain aspect of the curriculum, when in fact they are not, this results in the negative effect that Henry has called "anti-cognition" (1968). Very clearly, what is involved is inference. Inferencing seems to be based on what is presumed to be the focal aspect of new information or new moves in the interaction. An example of how teacher and students sometimes do not share the same understanding of what constitutes the focal aspect of a new move occurs in the following:

(7) "How about spinach?." Nursery Level.

(Nursery school teacher B-1 is sitting with a group of children on the floor after an enactment of "Little Red

Riding Hood." She has asked the children to gather around for a "celebration" of the wolf's demise, and to think about what they will celebrate with--that is, what kinds of things "are" in the basket."

T: Fruit, that's a good idea. What kinds of fruit shall we have in our basket?

Anita: Apples.

T: O.K.

Allison: Bananas.

T: Bananas. O.K.

Elliott: Oranges.

T: O.K.

David: Peaches.

T: Peaches, that's a good one.

Eve: Grapes.

T: O.K.

→ Allison: (tapping the basket which is in the center of the group) That's all.

→ T: How about spinach?

→ Allison: O.K.

→ Elliott: How about--uh--I'll get some flowers for you (getting up).

→ T: How about carrots?

→ Allison: Yeah.

Anita: I'll get carrots now. (getting up)

T: Are they fruits?

Allison: No. (shrugging shoulders)

T: Not a fruit?

Elliott: (standing, holding out hand with imaginary bunch of flowers)

Betsy: No. (intonational gloss: of course not; so what?)

→ T: All right, carrots.

Elliott: Mrs. Jones, here're your flowers (holding out hand).
Here're your flowers.

T: Oh, thank you. How nice of you. (with hand "taking" Elliott's bunch of flowers)

Eve: And some broccoli?

T: Broccoli, that'd be good, wouldn't it?

In this example, it seems that when the teacher asked "How about spinach?", the children interpreted this not as a "test question" about whether or not spinach is a fruit but rather as an "opening up" of what can go in the celebration basket. This opening up seems to include expansion in a number of directions: different vegetables, other items than either fruit or vegetables (i.e. Elliott's flowers) that "require" getting up and "getting" them (and not just saying them), and getting up to get the vegetables (I'll get carrots now"). This teacher may well have decided that her introduction of the move "How about spinach?" "didn't work the way she thought it would" and so may have thought of this sequence as "not educationally successful." My own view is that it displays very crucial teaching skills: When the teacher's query didn't get the response she might have expected (No, spinach is not a fruit), the teacher didn't end the sequence with the misapprehension that the children thought spinach was a fruit. Rather, she actively pursued their line of thinking, and, in this case, made no effort to revert to her own initial focus.

The issues involved in this are too many to bring into alignment here, but three things can be mentioned. One is that this kind of happening seems to embody in an informal (indirect) instructional context some of what Cazden (1979b) discussed for slightly more formal (direct) instructional contexts in her paper about "Peek-A-Boo as an instructional model."

Secondly, teachers do seem to develop these formats for directing and receiving attention along the lines of modality splitting. For example, the nursery teachers especially, seemed to be involved in directing students' attention to the verbal (and the more "completely" (i.e. decontextualized) verbal) form, as in examples (8) and (9) both of which occurred during a session in which the teacher was working with one child, Sara, on an experiment with water pouring:

(8) "I didn't talk" Nursery Level. January. Mid-Morning.

T: (to S) Do they both have the same amount of water
or does the glass have one and the vase have
another?

Sara: (ponders the question with elbows on table and
chin in hands, but then points to the glass.) (6.5")

Sara: (to T) They both have the same amount.

T: (quoting) 'They both have the same amount of water'.
I'm very interested in your answer. Can you tell
me how you figured that out?

Sara: (nods. (1.6").)

T: (to S) Tell me what you thought. (Over the last
few seconds some hysterical laughter has been
coming out of the children at the nearby table
playing with clay.)

A Child: Heh heh heh heh. Ah: heh heh heh heh.

T: (gets up and walks over to the nearby table. (4.2")

T: (to group) I'm going to stop you ((unclear))
All right?

T: (returns to Sara's table and sits down. (6.5").)

→ T: Sara, I'm sorry we were interrupted by the clay
people just then, and I couldn't really hear,
and I was very interested [because-

→ Sara: (to T) I didn't [talk.]
(1.5")

→ T: (nodding) I know. But I want to have you talk
to me about it, because I'm very
[interested in how you figured it out.]
Sara: [I know because it's ((o]ver))
there to there, because, of-, this thing is
bigger than this thing. ...

(9) "I want to color the water blue". Nursery Level. January.
(Sara has just brought to the table a set of food coloring vials)

T: What color would you like to color the water?
S: (points to one vial)
T: What's the name of that color?
S: Blue.
→ T: All right. Can you say "I want to color the
water blue"?
S: I-want-to-color-the-water-blue (said with
"recitation" intonation)
T: All right.

Thirdly, although teachers seem to want to have children know the "why" of what they are doing as much as possible, there are also times when teachers do not want to be drawn into an explanation for something that the child may not have enough information (and/or which, in the teacher's estimation, the child may not need to have) to process the explanation. In many of these situations the teacher's role seems to be more explicitly that of "guide", whereby the child's focus of attention and activity is explicitly guided or directed. These directions, it seems, are also often dictated in terms of modality. Thus, while the teachers (especially, it seems in our data, the nursery teachers) often encourage development of the verbal modality, they also sometimes direct students attention away from it (in our data, this seems to be most prevalent at the kindergarten levels, with both teachers, though these two teachers were in any lay sense very different in "style"). Thus we noted a number of teacher admonishments such as the following (all from the kindergarten data):

Ms. D. "Don't talk about it, just do it".

Ms. C. "Don't discuss it. Just do it".

Ms. D. "Wait, Jenny. You're still listening.
Put your head down."

Ms. D. "Put your hands in your lap and think"

Ms. C. "Stop talking and think. Your mind can't be
thinking while your mouth is doing all that talking"

Ms. D. "You know, some of you keep asking whaddaya do,
whaddaya do (deliberately mock whiney voice).
Put your head down and stop asking questions."

As a final note, let us turn to thinking about how the issues involved in modality may interact with ritual considerations:

Returning now to the issue of competing demands for the teacher's attention, we can note that the teacher has essentially three options for attending to a secondary vector of activity: (1) She can include the current participants in her departure ((to Seth) "Oh look at Jackie's design"); (2) She can partially slot out and use a split modality involvement (e.g. with many reading groups: verbal modality for reading, non-verbal for secondary vectors); (3) she can "totally" slot out. This latter option means that the teacher has temporarily left the "primary" vector. (However, this does not necessarily mean that the primary vector will stop; in fact, many teachers seem to be "going for" a reading group situation in which the group will keep reading (the vector will keep going) whether or not she is involved).

When the teacher leaves the primary vector she may do it "as though she was never gone" (e.g. the "Hi Carter" or the

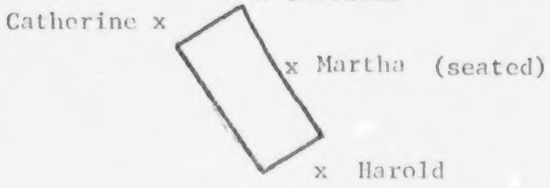
"Hunh-unh" examples) or she may do it with a formal stopping of the primary vector ("All right. Excuse me just a minute"), or she may leave with no formal stopping but re-enter with a formal re-entry (O.K. I'm sorry. Where were we?) These latter two "types" represent some ritual acknowledgement of the impairment to the primary vector. They are, in fact, *ritual brackets* that mark accessibility (not altogether unlike "Hi" and "Bye bye"; here recall Seth's "Bye, Jackie" in the Batikked example). We might, then, want to refine our analysis of leaving and re-entering vectors with some further distinction in "slotting" so that we might speak of "slot-out," "slot-in", "bracket-out" (Excuse me) and "bracket-in" (O.K. Sorry).

What we are dealing with here are issues of "ritual closure" or "ritual boundedness" of participant interchanges. It is my hunch that this is one aspect of "teacher style" that children must attune themselves to in order to operate "successfully" in terms of managing ritual equilibrium between him/herself and the teacher (this notion extends to dealings with other students as well, of course). A given teacher may "stylistically" orient to a norm of maintaining a greater or lesser degree of ritual boundedness to the various pieces of interaction in the classroom.

Some beginnings and ends are, of course, less amenable to such stylistic variation. It is not inconsequential, for instance, that Ms. C's unusual slot out to say "Hi Carter" seems to be in response to Carter's first coming into class. These access rituals that bound off the entire day seem to be pretty "obligatory". In another classroom (nursery) Teacher B-1 also leaves her primary vector to similarly greet a student for the first time that day. But she uses the "leaving" option of including the current participants in her departure from the primary vector:

(10) "Catherine's just arrived". Nursery.

T: (to S) What is that?
(1.6")
Seth: (to T) Umm, (2.0") [food color.]
T: (looking across room) [Heh heh.] (chuckle)
Seth: Food color.
→ T: (slightly louder, with sing-song lilt) Catherine just arrived. She's been to see the doctor this morning.
(Seth and T look across the room. (0.9"))
→ T: How are you now, Catherine?
(T is engaged in a gestural conversation with someone across the room -- perhaps C's mother.)
T: (to someone off-camera) All right.
Seth: (stirring colored water, sings:) Duh-duh-duh-duh-[duh-duh.]
T: [((unclear))] Juice is all right. [Nothing ((unclear))]...
Seth: (to T, while stirring) [I'm stirring]
T: ...((like crackers)). ((All right, fine)).
Seth: (to T) I'm stirring.
(T starts to stand up.)
Seth: (to T) I'm stirring.
(T walks off-camera. Seth stirs water. (3.5").
Seth: (sarcastic intonation) Excu:se me.
(Martha, who has been sitting on the end of the table watching T and Sara for the last five minutes, slides down into the T's seat as Seth stirs and mumbles. (5.3"))
Martha: (to Seth) See, I'm the teacher, ri:ght? Y'have to get it clean, Seth.
(Seth walks away. Catherine walks up by Seth's seat. Caroline swings around the table. Harold approaches the table. (9.1"))



Harold: (toward Martha) What are you doing? ((Doing))
Martha: (looking up at H) We're-, we're-, [((unclear))
Harold: (to M) [Are you]
doing playdough?
Martha: (to H) No::, Seth, we are-, we are doing,
(T has reapproached the table, she leans over Martha and takes the food color box from Martha.)
T: (to M) O:.K. Did you want to put a little more
blue coloring in it, Caroline. Is that what you
[have in mind?] (C seems to nod.)
Catherine: (to T) [Can I do] [that?
T: (to Caroline) [All right.] You put a
little more in, then I'm going to put the coloring
((back)).
Catherine: (to T) Can I do that, what you're doing?
Harold: (to T) Can I do it after ((her))? (C or M)
Catherine: (to T) Can I do it [after?
T: (to group) [I would like] to have
everybody [have a turn if we can.
Caroline: (to T) [I'm ((a)) put a little more] in
T: (to Caroline) All right. You want a put a little
more in that one? (The measuring cup) All
right.
(Caroline does so.)

(( )): ((unclear))

T: Watch it for a minute.

(T tugs at Martha's back to get her to stand up to look inside the cup.)

T: Martha, watch that, for a minute so you can see what happens.

(T walks away from the table, apparently to return the food color. (2.9"))

Catherine: (to Caroline) Why don't you stir it up?

(The children stare at the cup.)

((Martha)): What's ha:ppening?

Catherine : (toward Caroline) It's turning blue. END EXAMPLE

Perhaps I should pause here to explicate somewhat my use of the term "ritual". The term "ritual" can be and is often used to refer to a set of behaviors or ways of doing things that are routine, that are essentially forms or formats that are expected to be the way of accomplishing something in a "culturally" defined setting by members of that "culture" (for uses of the term applied to the classroom setting see Corsaro 1979, Griffin and Mehan 1979). This aspect of the term "ritual" probably inheres to some extent in all uses of the term.

Nevertheless, following the work of Goffman (1956, 1963, 1971), I use the term "ritual" less as a noun and more as an adjective. Thus I have included the concepts of ritual equilibrium (see I-A and III B, especially) and ritual closure in my analyses. Briefly (and here the reader is encouraged to seek out Goffman's more complete discussions), this use of the term derives from the noun use in that there is some large complex of behaviors alluded to, which in any given dyad of social interaction are expected or not expected, depending on the relative status and so on of the two cointeractants. Thus, it is not so much the case that a *particular* set of behaviors is always expected to accomplish a goal (that set comprising *a* ritual), but rather that there is a range of behaviors which can be assigned a ritual interpretation - an interpretation of "proper" expectedness or appropriateness according to a range of interactional *variables* (relative status, nature of the setting, etc.).

In ferreting out the types of interactional variables that bear on the ritual quality of some face to face action, Goffman (1956) distinguished two basic types: those having to do with deference and those having to do with demeanor. Deference involves displays of respect for the "other". while demeanor displays respect for the "self". The subtlety of this distinction is sometimes lost because often a single act may be seen to have both motivating forces driving it (as one grooms his/her hair before coming to school, partly out of deference to the setting and others there, and partly out of proper demeanor or self-esteem). Most of the recent discussions in sociolinguistics concerning negative and positive politeness (Brown and Levinson, Gumperz and Tannen, Lakoff 1979) can be related fairly directly to concerns with displays of deference. This is also the major sense in which I have invoked the term ritual (as in ritual equilibrium between two interactants, ritual closure of a vector of activity). However, the following short sequence from the classroom data illustrates a way in which the demeanor component comes into play:

(11) *Kindergarten*.

(Three girls are at a table. Maryann and Joyce have been arguing and the discussion has just escalated)

Maryann: I hate you, Joyce.
Joyce: You're fresh, Maryann, and fresh means bad.
Linda: Now you're both fresh.

Ah. Primary classroom interaction is indeed a microcosm of so much else that goes on in human life. And it's all very complicated.

NOTES

[1] I am indebted to Erving Goffman for suggesting that I consider the issue of dual processing in the development of my analyses. He is in no way accountable, of course, for the way in which I have followed up on his suggestion.

[2] It seems clear, further, that this kind of behavioral adaptation to competing demands for attention may vary considerably cross-culturally. In discussing this recently with Livia Polanyi (personal communication) I was told that this kind of modality splitting does not seem to be typical in the Netherlands. She remarked, by way of example, that mothers do not pull up their children's pants while talking to other adults; they are either talking to the adult or pulling up a child's pants. This kind of deep-seated cultural training in focusing attention may have important implications for educational programs with culturally heterogeneous teacher-student populations.

In this section we will draw upon some independent work by Humphrey on the nature of verbal participation in whole group settings (Humphrey 1979, Griffin and Humphrey 1978). This work was accomplished separately from the service-like event study, but was done concurrently, and is based on the same "original" data bank (see section II) using lessons from the kindergarten and third grade levels.

Humphrey's major effort (1979) in studying whole group situations was directed largely at verbal turn-taking sanctions (briefly, negative sanctions of verbal turns; this will be developed later). This was an ideal locus of observation for studying whole group lessons, in which there is officially a single vector of activity (in which all participants are expected to engage their attention). However, as we have taken pains to point out earlier in this report, the notions of turn-taking and getting the floor do not readily apply to periods of individualized instruction, in which there are multiple vectors of activity (and no unified focus of attention). In the individualized instruction time situation, the notion of turn, when it means anything at all, means something quite different from what it means in whole group lessons where there is a single focus of attention for the group, and individuals "take-verbal turns" at being a part of that focus. In general, the notion of turn seems to mean a segment of time (or other measure of duration) during which there is official (positive sanction) granting of temporary territorial rights to some resource.

In this more general sense the notion of turn is applicable to individualized instruction, and, in fact, is sometimes verbally referred to as such, as in (1):

(1) Peanut Game. Nursery Level.[1]

"time" Seth: This time I want thirteen.
T: Heh heh he, this time he wants thirteen.
Seth: Give me thir[teen,]
"time" → T: [You're] had this time, Seth.
You can go back to the clay table now.
T: Will you put all your shells on the paper, please,
and then take [your shells to the wastebasket?]
Seth: [No, I want-]
Seth: I want ((two)) I want thirteen.
"turn" → T: I know you want thirteen, Seth, but you have
had your turn this time. You can go back to
the clay table [now after you put your shells] away.
Seth: [But I want- I- I'm hun] gry
still. (3.4") I'm still hungry. (1.3") I'm still
hungry.
(to other T) T: (sotto voice) Why don't we go send up for some
milk or something, ((cause)) he's really hungry.

What we are basically dealing with, then, is a general notion that applies to the allocation of resources. This, as we know, is a crucial issue in educational settings, as Barr and Dreeben (1977) have pointed out:

> "...Classroom instruction consists in good part of the allocation of resources to student learning, but to understand the allocative process we need to know what classrooms are like, how they work, and what situations affecting the allocation of resources arise in them."

Sanctions are a kind of index of some trouble in the allocation of resources. We have been concerned primarily with the resource of teacher attention, but trouble can arise from many other more tangible resources as well, as in (2):

(2) Kindergarten (note the reformulation in the John-Bobby vector)

(T has just gotten up from her chair in response to a lot of noise in the loft area, which she approaches)

T: Ev,ery, bo,dy freeze.
T: If you wanna ((unclear)) Christina, look at me, please.
(Several indistinct voices.)
T: What are you gonna do if you wanna go up in the loft?
A Child: (to T) ((Look at you)).
T: Right. There are four people who are going up there. Can you go up there now?
(2.7")
A Child: (to T) There's one two three four five.
A Child: (to T) There's only two up there.
T: [I know, but] there are four
John: [No:, let-,]
→ T: [people who asked me to go] up.
John: [Bobby, you can come up.]
Christina: What ?
John: (to T) Can [Bobby come] up?
T: (to((Chr))) [There are--,]
T: Wait, John,
→ T: (to ((Chr.))) There are four people who already asked me to go up.
Bobby: (to T) Could I come up?
T: (to B) Wait. I'm talking to Christina.
→ T: (to Christina) Can you go up there when there are four people?
Christina: No.

T: (to Christina) [Would you like to] go up, sometime today?
A Child: [Uh:ʕ oh:.]
Christina: Yes.
→ T: O.K. Why don't you ask me later, and we'll discuss it. O.K.?

Before proceeding to our discussion of sanctions in whole group sessions, let us review for individual work sessions some of the problem situations that arise in allocating the resource of teacher attention.

As we have seen, a recurrent problem with periods of individualized instruction is that there are frequently times when a child's want for the teacher's attention and that child's engagement of the teacher's attention do not neatly coincide. A nursery school teacher may stand at the ready while a child struggles with his imagination, trying to conjure up a story to dictate to her. On the other hand, a first grader may find his effort to write a Christmas party invitation stymied for fifteen minutes before a teacher finishes leading a reading group and provides him with the spelling of the word "invited." Teachers, of course, try to minimize the problem of non-availability during involvement with small group instructional vectors of activity (such as reading). One way they try to do this is by first checking what other students are doing and by letting those other students know of their impending non-availability (they are, in a sense, "bracketing-out" (see subsection IV-D), as in (3):

(3) Third Grade

(T has called four students over to a table to participate in a lesson on how to use the dictionary effectively. T then turns and addresses the rest of the group.)

T: All right now, I'm getting ready to work with the group. Robin, do you need me for anything before I start?

((Robin)): ((unclear))

T: All right but I can't-, won't check that now. (2.4")

T: (to class) All right now see if you can work on your own, and unless it's an emergency let me finish with them.

Despite the teacher's efforts to anticipate student needs (Robin, do you need me?), however, it inevitably happens that students encounter problems or realize that they needed the teacher's assistance only after the teacher has declared herself to be inaccessible.

Now for a student in such a predicament there are various options available: attempting to overcome the problem or make a decision on one's own, turning to another student for advice or a solution, or switching over to an alternate activity which can be tackled independently. However, from the student's point of view most of these options have their disadvantages: he may believe (sometimes correctly) that he is incapable of dealing with the problem or issue on his own; he may feel (frequently again with good reason) that a fellow student's judgment or knowledge base is roughly on a par with his own; and switching to an alternate activity may have been ruled out until after the child masters the very project which currently confounds him. Thus a student who is unsure about his multiplication table, or can't remember where the teacher keeps the colored pencils, or has difficulty turning a record player on, may decide that approaching the already involved teacher and requesting such information or feedback is the necessary way (as well as the most direct way) to bridge the academic impasse. But for the child in need of aid, approaching the teacher while she is conducting a small group lesson or tutorial must generally be seen as a calculated risk: will the teacher agree with the student that his need for communication with her outweighs the need for the teacher to be fully engaged in her small group? If she does, as is the case for the teacher in example (2), the student can proceed with his project having confidence that at least some aspects of it are on the right track.

(4) First Grade

(T playing word game using flash cards with three students. A few seconds earlier Mark approached the table and put his spelling notebook on the table beside T. T holds out toward Tracy a card with the word 'we' on it; while Tracy stares at it for a few seconds, T turns her face toward Mark. (4.3"))

Mark: (to T) What does 'hope' start with?

(Tracy stares down at the table as if in thought. Anna lines up behind Mark. (0.6"))

T: (unvoiced, to Mark) Hhh.

T: (looks over at Tracy and seems to locate the first letter for her. (1.1"))

Mark: (to T) H?

T: (looks at Mark and seems to nod slightly.)

T: What is the beginning sound, Tracy?

Tracy: (to T) 'Wuh'.

(T's decoding lesson with Tracy continues.)

How a teacher will react in situations such as (4) depends, on the one hand, on several more-or-less fixed contextual parameters, such as the teacher's personal philosophy about ideal student behavior during "individual work" periods, the nature of the school setting (in this instance, a relatively "open" classroom structure), and the "mutual biographical" context of teacher and student (including, e.g., the student's academic standing in the classroom, the extent of his willingness to work alone without getting distracted, and the frequency of his previous attempts and successes at getting help from the teacher). But what appears to figure equally in a teacher's decision on how to react to a student approaching and/or summoning her for aid are other contextual factors of a rapidly-shifting nature: e.g., the nature of the interaction in the "host" event at the exact moment of a child's solicitation to a teacher (or at the exact moment that the teacher becomes aware of the soliciting student, if no verbal solicitation is made); the degree to which the solicitor's address overlaps the utterances of the teacher and/or student in the "host" event; and the degree to which the teacher judges that the interruptive query can be successfully responded to and dispatched without impairing the integrity of the host vector of activity. In (4), for instance, Mark indicates to the teacher that he is in need of a spelling word by posting himself by the teacher and placing his spelling notebook in front of her (a "classic" non-verbal solicitation). A second later Tracy responds with a blank look to a flash card that the teacher shows to her. The teacher, who is aware by the nature of Mark's approach and notebook positioning that he needs help spelling a word, "slots out" of the currently stagnant flash card lesson for a few seconds, helping Mark solve his spelling problem while allowing Tracy to mull over the flash card briefly.

Mark is quickly dispatched and Tracy is then provided with clues for decoding the flash card without the momentum of the lesson having been broken (see the discussion in section III about slotting).

In (4) Mark finds himself in the fortunate situation of being able to signal to the teacher, using an educational prop, that he desired a brief academic audience with her (i.e., the spelling of a word) at the precise moment when Tracy's difficulty decoding a flash card had created a small transaction pause or "seam" in the small group lesson. The teacher makes use of the inevitable "down time" in the lesson (caused by Tracy's pause) to eliminate the potentially more extensive "down time" in Mark's writing project (which could result from his inability to spell the word "hope").

In this section the focus will be on allocation-of-resources troubles during individual work time. One set of these troubles has to do with service-like events wherein the student is not successful, at least in his initial effort, in obtaining the sort of aid that he is attempting to solicit from the teacher. (And in example (18) to follow we will see the same successful mark of (4) solicit "unsuccessfully"). There are two principal reasons for focusing on such "interactional misfires." First, investigating such incidents provides a handle on understanding of classroom behavior during individual work or small group activity periods, one that could never be grasped by an analysis which relied solely upon teachers' descriptions of turn-taking rules or their declarations to students about the rules for such periods, the latter of which are illustrated by (3) above as well as (5) below (recall also the interruptions lesson).

(5) Second Grade.

(T is addressing entire class prior to the beginning of a small group reading lesson.)

T: ...[L]isten to me folks. Since I'm having a reading group, I will not be able to answer questions on the math paper. It means therefore, that you must, think for yourself, or get a friend to help.

Official verbalizations of such rules *do* provide an insight into teachers' subsequent reactions, and may be useful in an effort to characterize a general picture of the system the teacher typically uses to restrict or expand children's access to her during these small group activities. But it would be a mistake to assume that the rules instituted by the teacher to govern such events are isomorphic with the actual practices used by the classroom members. Such rules nearly always bear only an indirect or "indexical" relationship to the way such procedures are actually carried out by the classroom participants (cf. Mehan and Wood 1975:90-95). As Goffman succinctly describes such rules,

> /O/f course the lay formulation of a rule never gets to the bone; it merely tells us where to start digging...The descriptive rule--the practice--is likely to be less neat, and certainly less available, allowing (if not encouraging) variously-grounded exceptions. The framework of normative understandings that *is* involved is not recorded, or cited, or available in summary form from informants. It must be pieced out by the student--in part by uncovering, collecting, collating, and interpreting all possible *exceptions* to the stated rule.
>
> (1978, p. 793, italics added)

Discovering how teachers' turn-taking decrees relate to students' turn-taking practices, as well as how these decrees and practices relate to teachers' subsequent reactions to students' turns, are fundamental ethnomethodological concerns:[2] the manner in which classroom participants negotiate their turn-taking practices is one specific instance of the ways members of society in general organize their everyday activities[3] (cf. Turner 1974; Filmer et al. 1972).

By examining trouble spots and in particular by developing a characterization of the range of teachers' negative sanctions and sanction-like responses in such scenarios, we will be able to provide more extensive and accurate documentation of the parameters which actually do play significant roles in the management of individualized instruction time.

The second major reason for analysing trouble spots is to compare the variety of teachers' sanction-like responses which are made to students during individual instruction time with the various types of turn-taking sanctions observed by Humphrey (1979) to populate primary school whole group lessons. Since the data from both the present study and that analysed by Humphrey are subsets of a common videotape corpus, containing interaction between some of the same groups of teachers and students, a comparison of the points of similarity and difference among the teacher's sanctions in whole group lessons and service-like events can provide a broader and more complete view of teachers' "classroom management procedures."

The locus of observation employed by Humphrey (1979) in his study of turn-taking sanctions was the whole group lesson, that is, that educational event in which the attention of the entire class is focused on a typical primary school educational topic (e.g. spelling, punctuation, subtraction, the layout of the solar system) and where the teacher plays a dominant role in determining and structuring the topic for discussion. Humphrey chose the whole group lesson as his locus of observation because casual viewing of such situations had revealed teachers' turn-taking sanctions to be present at a fairly high and more-or-less predictable frequency (for the data analyzed, approximately one turn-taking sanction incident per minute). In addition, by focusing on whole group situations Humphrey was able to incorporate findings from earlier linguistically-based research projects in similar educational settings (Mehan 1979; Griffin and Humphrey 1978; Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Bellack et al. 1966). Humphrey's data bank consisted of fifteen whole group lessons totalling approximately five hours in duration and representing two grade levels (third grade and kindergarten) and four teachers (two teachers per grade). (These are, of course, the same teachers and classrooms as appear in the kindergarten and third grade levels of the service-like event corpus.) As was the case for the current project, these fifteen lessons were transcribed to a high level of detail according to current methods employed in discourse analysis and supplemented with ethnographic information concerning instructional materials in use, seating arrangements, and salient aspects of non-verbal communication.

Because the turn-taking sanction is a classroom management function rather than a formally specifiable linguistic unit (cf. the formal diversity among: Shh!; It's not your turn; Quiet; and Would you please stop talking?), Humphrey was required to do a great deal of cross-comparison of various types of teacher utterances to convert the turn-taking sanction from an intuitive notion into an explicit analytic formulation of this common functional unit of classroom discourse. The formulation was finally specified in terms of an interactional unit or couplet - the "sanction incident"-using the following definition:

> A sanction incident consists in its most basic form of two turns-at-talk in the lesson discourse, a student's target utterance and a teacher's overt negative evaluative response to the turn-placement or delivery of that target utterance.
>
> (Humphrey 1979:114)

204

A turn-taking sanction or sanction utterance or move is, then, the teacher's response in a sanction incident. Humphrey was able to cull 282 segments of teacher/student interaction from the lessons transcripts which met the above definition. Example (6) below, for example, contains two clear-cut examples of typical turn-taking sanctions.

(6) Placement Sanction

(The B/D lesson, near the end. T is at the blackboard addressing the whole group of students, who are situated at their desks.)

T: Alright, now, I'm going to come to each person who is ready, and give you a magazine, and ask you to look for words that begin with 'duh'-, look for pictures, whose names-, of things whose name begins with 'duh' or 'buh'. You may help each other, you may talk to each other if you can keep your voices from getting too loud.

Jackie: Can I do it with [Betsy?]

→ T: (Waves hand at Jackie) [Wait,] I'm not coming to anyone who's talking now. Put your head down. You're listening.

T: (to group) For some reason, some of our scissors have disappeared, so some of your are going to have to share and take turns with scissors.

Jackie: I know where [some-,]

→ T: [Wait,] Jackie, you're still listening, put your head down.

(Kindergarten Level. Classroom D)

In example (6) the teacher informs Jackie that she is unhappy with the presence of Jackie's utterances in the lesson at this time. In other words, the teacher's utterances, *"Wait, I'm not coming to anyone who's talking now"*... and *Wait, Jackie, you're still listening, put your head down,* show no indication that they are responses to the content of Jackie's utterances, even though together they comprise seven separate sentences. Instead, they are negative evaluative responses to the *placement* of turns by students in the lessons at those times; and for this reason Humphrey labelled teacher utterances such as the arrowed ones in (6) above "placement sanctions."[4]

Even though the most frequent sanctions were those in which the teacher negatively evaluated the placement of a turn, there were five other types of sanction-like actions which teachers undertook to indicate their unhappiness with various facets of their students' turn-taking and/or general classroom behavior. These sanctions or sanction-like actions are listed in (7) - (11) below and are preceded by a brief characterization.

(7) *Delivery Sanctions*. T is unhappy not with the placement of the child's turn in the lesson, but rather with the *manner* in which it was produced (such as its volume or tempo).

(Greenhouse lesson. T asking children to relate something they remember from their recent greenhouse trip.)

T: Carter.
Carter: Plants need three days...
Sev. Chn: We already have that one!
Carter: (loud, angrily) But it's different!
T: O.K., let's listen and see.
→ Carter, you don't have to yell.

(Kindergarten Level, Classroom C)

(8) Responsive Sanctions. T is unhappy with the placement of the child's turn in the lesson, but her sanction also explicitly encodes an awareness of the content of the child's utterance.

(Body language lesson. T has assigned to Sally the task of getting Meredith to assume a certain pose, using words only.)

Sally: Put your hands on your head, ...one hand on
your head, one hand out, and your feet crossed.
Sam: (to Meredith) No, not like that.
→ T: Excuse me. Sam, who's giving the directions?

(Kindergarten Level, Classroom C)

(9) Double-Takes. T is at first unhappy with the placement of the child's turn in the lesson, but immediately after she issues the sanction she reverses herself and treats the child's utterance as a legitimate one (though in this case the legitimacy is not related to the utterance's appropriateness to the lesson vector, but rather to the overriding "emergency" concern of bodily function).

(Body language lesson. T is having Abner tell Sam to assume a certain pose, unknown to Sam, by using only words.)

T: Abner, you explain this to Sam.
Abner: (to Sam) Put, put, um, your feet under your bottom.
T: Fabulous! "Put your feet under your [bottom."]
Christina: [Mrs. A,] can
I go [to the bathroom?]
→ T: [Shh:!]
→ (T then nods to Christina, and Christina leaves.)

(Kindergarten Level, Classroom C)

(10) Curt Responses. T responds to the content of the child's turn, but does so in a brusque manner which suggests that she was unhappy with the placement of the utterance in the lesson.

(Crossword lesson. T has been describing to the group where to write the word grow on a crossword puzzle.)

T: ...a capital G. It's already there under a number two across.

Meredith: Now what do we do?

→ T: (to Meredith) You wait.

(Kindergarten Level. Classroom C)

(11) Behavioral Sanctions.

T is unhappy not with a particular utterance in a lesson, but more generally with a child's overall behavior during a lesson.)

(Flannelboard lesson. T has summoned Andy to the board to replace the figures, and in the mention she walks across the room to get something. As she walks she says:)

T: Make sure he's-, she's doing, he's doing it right. Maybe somebody can help him once he's finished, Christina.

(Christina, Bobby, and Diana immediately stand up to 'help' Andy.)

→ T: Un-un-un, there's no reason when I leave the rug for you all to get up.

(Kindergarten Level. Classroom C)

Although Humphrey was able to locate six distinct types of sanctions and sanction-like responses by teachers in response to various aspects of their students' turn-taking and general behavior during whole group lessons, these negative evaluative responses were not equally distributed across the six sanction types. Instead, a large proportion of these sanction incidents were of one particular type, as is shown in (12).

(12)

250	Placement Sanctions	(example (5))
5	Delivery Sanctions	(6)
11	Responsive Sanctions	(7)
6	Double-Takes	(8)
8	Curt Responses	(9)
17	Behavioral Sanctions	(10)
297	Total	

As the above table reveals, the frequency with which placement sanctions such as shh and stop talking occurred in whole group lessons was well over ten times greater than any other sanction type. Five out of every six sanctions which the teacher issued were of the "placement" variety; this skewing of the data would be still greater if the behavioral sanctions which occurred near lesson boundaries (when teachers were rearranging students and educational props in preparation for the next event) were eliminated from (12), and if the seventeen tokens of "double-takes" and "responsive sanctions" were considered to be sub-varieties of placement sanctions (with additional interactional moves incorporated into them).

Thus we see in this brief sketch of the turn-taking and behavioral sanctions in primary school lessons that a wide range of distinct sanction moves are available to teachers, but that only the placement variety occurs with any great frequency. This is what we might expect, given that in a whole group lesson vector of activity the main resource to be allocated is an opportunity to talk and be listened to (i.e. a turn at talk). Next we will argue that though the situation is quite different during individualized instruction time the general paradigm of describing negative sanctions as indices of trouble spots in the allocation of resources, still holds.

As is shown by the teacher's response to Meredith in (13) below, during individualized instruction time teachers do make use of the same response forms to sanction students that they do in whole group lessons.

(13) Second Grade

(T is roaming the classroom from table to table, helping individual children with their math and other projects.)

T: (approaching a table) Uhh, Meredith.
→ Meredith? Shh:::.
T: sits down beside an unidentified girl at a table.
((girl)): (to T) ((She wasn't being herself.))
T: (confirming) She wasn't being herself.

Shh, the speech-item used to sanction Meredith in (13), is also frequently used by teachers to sanction students' improperly-taken turns in whole group lessons (see (9) above). The linguistic resources that teachers bring to bear to maintain order in primary school events are thus not totally context-specific.

However, even when teachers in service-like events formulate their sanctions primarily with reference to the language of their students, the nature of the verbal infractions in such situations are frequently cast in a distinctly different light, as is shown in (14).

(14) Second Grade

(T is instructing Peter, David and Adam at a table on a math assignment. The rest of the class is broken down into small groups.)

T: (to David) Did you get 28?
(Whether or not David responds is indeterminable. Several loud voices from elsewhere in the room can be heard. T scans the room (4.0"))

→ T: Shh::! Teddy? Teddy? Teddy?
(1.3") Theodore. Keep your voice down. We're
working over here.

In (14) the teacher tells Teddy to lower his voice but not to cease speaking altogether, since the teacher does not want to prohibit the members of children's small groups from communicating and collaborating with one another. In contrast, even a whispered utterance may trigger a teacher's sanction in a whole group lesson, as the arrowed utterances in (15) illustrate.

(15) Kindergarten Level Whole Group.

(T is attempting to get Sam to expand his recollection of what he learned at the greenhouse into a complete sentence.)

T: (to Sam) Give me a whole sentence, a whole idea.
(Several children are whispering unclearly.)
(a) → T: (stage whisper) There's a lot of whispering.
A Child: (stage whisper) There's a lot of whis[pering.]
(b) → T: [Shh.]

In whole group lessons, teachers may sanction students' whispers both when those whispers are directed to other children (arrow (a)) as well as when they are to the teacher (arrow (b)). This is because during individualized instruction, the major objection to talking is its possible disruption of the communicative loading of the verbal modality in the teacher's vector of activity. In the whole group situation, children are not only accountable for not disturbing the teacher, they are also expected to attend (and therefore not talk at all unless it is their "turn").

As it turns out, a teacher's utterance like shh or keep your voice down was only one of a wide variety of sanction-like response types that students would encounter when they attempted to solicit help from teachers already involved in an academic exchange with some other student(s). Sometimes the solicitor would find himself being put on hold until the teachers felt that a more appropriate seam in the host event had been reached, as in (16).

(16) Third Grade

(Virginia is summarizing what she has read thus far to the teacher. As she talks, Charlie approaches T with a book and a tablet. T glances over and takes the tablet. While Virginia is still speaking, Charlie places the book in front of the teacher. (7.0"))

Charlie: (to T) Look.
→ T: (to C) Just a ((moment)), just a minute.
T: (to V) Go ahead=
→ T: (to C) =Let her finish her sentence.
(Virginia speaks to T, inaudibly, as Charlie waits. (11.6"))
T: (to V) All right, wait a minute.
T: (to C) All right, what's your question?
Charlie: (pointing at tablet) ((Look what I did.)) I finished it. (...)
T: (to C) Hey:, it almost worked, didn't it?[5]

In (16) the teacher non-verbally signals that Charlie approach during the reading tutorial is allowable by taking his tablet from him, but when Charlie attempts to move into the verbal modality, the teacher expresses concern for task integrity of Virginia's reading and defers Charlie's solicitation until Virginia can "finish her sentence." At a meta-communicative level Charlie is being trained to be more aware of the boundedness of instructional tasks and the ritual considerations involved.

Often these "turn-deferrals" are much more open-ended than the slight postponement that Charlie experienced, as (17) illustrates.

(17) Third Grade

(As T conducts a small group lesson on cursive-writing,
Albert approaches the table.)

John: (to T) Is this a small T or a big T?
T: (to J) This is a [small T.
Peter: (to J) It's a big.]
(T looks up and sees Albert.)
→ T: I'm "out" for right now, Albert.
(Albert walks away. Lesson continues for several minutes.)

And these deferrals can be formulated in such a manner as to convey the teacher's belief that the solicitor's intrusion is undermining the educational exchange of the host event, as in (18).

(18) First Grade

(T is conducting a small group reading lesson. Mark walks up beside T.)

Mark: Mrs. E?
(T doesn't acknowledge him. (1.0"))
Mark: Do we get to see the videotape.
(T looks up irritatedly. (1.1"))
T: Am I working with children?
Mark: Yes.
T: Are you interrupting them?
(Whether or not M replies is unclear.)
T: Can I read with them when you ask me things like that?
Mark: No.

T: Could your question wait till later?
Mark: Yeah.
(T raises her eyebrows and looks inquisitively at Mark. Mark walks away.)

In this instance the teacher fails to provide Mark with an answer to his question, but she does inform him at length that she is already engaged in another educational event, that she takes a dim view of his asking her a question during that event, and that his intrusion is having an ill effect on the reading interaction. Nevertheless the interchange is formally designed to allow *him* to withdraw his solicitation.

Although in the whole group lessons the bulk of the teachers' sanctions were oriented toward the child's turn-placement (see (12) above), in about one-third of the surveyed service-like events that were negatively sanctioned the teacher went beyond simply squelching the language of the solicitor to discuss how aspects of his general involvement in an appropriate vector of activity were in need of readjustment. This more general behavioral focus is especially clear in (19) below.

(19) *Second Grade*

(Jonathon approaches T and waits by her for a minute as she works with Adam in a math tutorial. T then looks across the room.)

Jonathan: (to T) Edward's been fooling [((with the))] ((unclear))
T: (to J) [I don't-,]
T: (holds hand up at J) Excuse me. They're-, they're in charge of that. *You*, are to be working on your math. You are behind; you don't, you have not paid attention to *two*, instructional periods, on what -you're stuck on.

T: I am not helping you any more. Sit down.
I expect it all completed by Monday.
(Jonathan walks away.)

In (19) the teacher informs Jonathan in a variety of ways that there are better things for him to be doing than tattling on Edward: other children are "in charge;" he has a math project overdue; and his own behavior in instructional periods can be found wanting. Note, thought, the redirective quality of the sanction.

Thus far we have discussed three different sorts of sanction-like responses that teachers make to students during individualized instruction: squelch sanctions like (2) and (13) (and see also the Hunh-unh example in III); attention deferrals - for various lengths of time and with various degrees of force, as in (16) and (17); and general behavioral sanctions such as in (19). We can distinguish a fourth and final category of sanction-like responses made by teachers during individual work time: what can be called "rechannellings." Two instances of teachers' rechannellings are shown in (20) and (21) below:

(20) First Grade

(T is in a small reading group with four children. Gene is having difficulty with the phrase "the homing pigeon.")

Gene: (reading) The homing, the homing, the homing,
(Anna and Sophia approach T's table)
((Laura)): (at table) Pigeon.
Anna: (thrusts workbook in front of T) How do you do this?
Mark: (at table) Ms. Ex[xxx.]
T: (looking up at A) [Well] you can find out
[by looking at what's] been done before you.
Gene: [The homing pigeon.]
Mark: Ms. E.

Sophia: (walking away) O.K.

(Anna follows Sophia away from the table.)

(21) Second Grade

(T is sitting alone with Adam, helping him come up with lists of things he likes and doesn't like about the Christmas holiday. Lynn approaches T, drapes her arm across T's back and waits for about 30 seconds.)

T: Presents? All right. What would be another category?

Lynn: (jabbing her fist across T's back) ((Ms. G?))

T: (pushing Lynn away with left hand)
Umm, if you would get your math checked with Connie you'd get out faster. (Connie is a student teacher.)

(Lynn leaves.)

In (20) the teacher rechannels Anna and Sophia to some previously completed work that they can use as a model in solving their workbook problems; in (21) the teacher tells Lynn to seek out the student teacher in the room for help with her math. With such rechannellings the teachers not only quickly liberate their own small group situations from potential distractions but, as the teacher in (21) points out, they also may be able to redirect the solicitor to a "faster" solution to his problem than simply marking time by the teacher.

The rechanneling type takes us back to our original paradigm of allocating resources - very clearly. The teacher's "rechanneling sanction" is not so much a negative sanction for misbehavior as it is a withholding of a resource (teacher's attention). Since that resource is deemed necessary for the continuation of the child's task vector a substitute for the requested resource is suggested. Deferrals can similarly be seen as temporary withholding of the teacher attention resources. Squelch sanctions like Sh, wait, hunh-unh, stop (doing that) are denials of a child's right to some resource that s/he has already presumed to command. This resource may be verbal loudness or it may be a space on the loft.

Notes

[1] Note also that the teacher replays "You can go back to the clay table" and that Seth replays "I'm still hungry", ending in the compromise that if he's hungry he can have something to eat, but the peanut game is not about eating peanuts (though that's allowed) but about counting them (teacher subtlely maintaining the integrity of the instructional vector by not allowing the focus of involvement to officially slip from counting (and tasting) them to eating them), and besides, his time/turn is declared to be over.

[2] In an informal discussion on the origins of the term 'ethnomethodology', Garfinkel (1968:10-11) characterized the field as follows:

> [T]here are not quite a number of persons who, on a day-to-day basis, are doing studies of practical activities, of common-sense knowledge, of this and that, and of practical organizational reasoning. That is what ethnomethodology is concerned with. It is an organizational study of a member's knowledge of his ordinary affairs, of his own organized enterprises, where that knowledge is treated by us as part of the same setting that it also makes orderable.

Besides the seminal work of Garfinkel (1967), other ethnomethodological studies are available in the volumes edited by Douglas (1970), Sudnow (1972), and Turner (1974). Mehan and Wood (1975) provide a good introduction to and overview of the discipline.

[3] Taking an ethnomethodological perspective, Mehan (1979) provides an insightful discussion of the manner in which

classroom rules are set forth, elaborated upon or set aside in typical lesson interaction, as in the following illustrative remarks:

> Although the teacher's practical concern is classroom order..., the rules that are part of this normative order are not communicated directly to the students. Classroom procedures, like other normative rules, are tacit...
>
> ⋮
>
> [S]tudents hear statements that index the existence of classroom rules. Teachers' statements like 'raise your hand', 'who knows', 'wait a minute', or 'give others' a chance to think' are not the classroom rules per se; they are statements that index the rules. The rule is orderliness. The students have to abstract from the information given in implicit statements to the classroom rule.
>
> ⋮
>
> Because classroom procedures are not stated in so many words, students must infer the appropriate ways to engage in classroom discourse from contextually provided information.
>
> (Mehan 1979:160-163)

[4] But recall (from an earlier brief discussion of this utterance in III-D) that the teacher is not only squelching the behavior (Wait); she is also telling the student what to be doing instead (listen, put your head down).

[5] The loudness of Hey is not insignificant. What followed here was a group discussion of all the people at the table, about Charlie's work.

V. A Final Overview

If one were asked to characterize the thrust of change in American educational practice over the past two decades, the response might suggest that it has involved at least three shifts: more individualized instruction, more time spent on enrichment activities, and more emphasis on designing the school environment so that there is greater continuity for the students between what goes on _in_ school and what goes on (has gone and will go on) _out of_ school. Then there would probably also be some qualification to this response stating that there has been a more recent reactive trend called "back to basics" with less emphasis on enrichment programs and more emphasis on standards and conformity. Another response might talk about the general thrust in terms of greater orientation to the _process_ of education, and about the reactive trend in terms of a return to more of a _product_ orientation. The role of language in particular has frequently been the major focus of such process-product characterizations.

What might be thought of as the theoretical basis for this state of affairs was recently discussed by Courtney Cazden (1974) in a lucid presentation that we can only highlight here. Basically, her paper examines two of the paradoxes of language, one of which is that all children learn native language structure well, though structure is rarely directly taught by the child's caretaker. This suggests that an effective way to teach other aspects of language (such as reading and writing) might be to design programs that would maintain continuity with the known features of effective home learning environments, This involves more "open" programs with teachers who are more permissive and indulgent, and collaborative in sustaining child-initiated foci of attention.

Cazden's second paradox, however, is that much research in language learning (at least as this has been measured by children's coding abilities) indicates that the most effective preschool programs seem to be the didactic ones rather than the "open" ones. Cazden points out that it is still arguable that the short term gains produced by the didactic programs may be so limited that "development is mimicked rather than stimulated." Nonetheless it is disconcerting that the results of the "open" programs - designed to maximize individual learning and minimize inequities in educational opportunities across social class and ethnic boundaries - should be so ambivalent.

Cazden suggests that a key to the resolution of this paradox may be found in the special aspects of group environments which do not exist at home and which therefore require special planning by teachers. These are (1) teachers are less familiar with individual children than are their home caretakers, (2) the interactional settings of the classroom may be more or less congruent with those the child is familiar with from home, (3) teachers must distribute their attention and their conversational initiatives among a group of children. Clearly it is the last of these aspects that the teacher has most control over and upon which we have attempted to shed some further light in this report.

In her paper Cazden goes on to suggest that one potential source of inequitable distribution of teacher's attention (among a classroom of students) resides in the fact that teachers are subject to reinforcement also and therefore may be inclined to talk more to the children that talk most to them. Cazden then reviews two unpublished studies that indicate this does indeed happen.

All this suggests that child initiated interaction may be an especially useful starting point for theorizing about how less didactic teaching situations might work.

In some theoretical sense part of the ideal version of an open educational system is that each child is more in control of his moment-to-moment focus of involvement and that rather than having to accommodate to when the teacher has planned instruction the child has unlimited access to the teacher for help whenever s/he needs it. But, as we have seen, this aspect is more of an ideal than a reality:

Frequently in any elementary or preschool classroom and even more frequently in open classrooms, there are situations in which children are expected to work independently while the teacher is engaged in working directly with other children. Often those children working independently need or desire the teacher's attention for help, approval or direction before the teacher has finished his/her activity. Requests or demands for the teacher's attention from outside the teacher group activity thus constitute a momentary dilemma for the teacher: if the teacher immediately attends to the request from outside, the teacher group activity may be disrupted, but if the teacher does not attend to the request, the task involvement of the requesting child may break down, and an occasion for instruction may be foregone. It's an important decision; yet it has to be made in a split second. This leads one to ask, 'Is any kind of consistency in teacher responsiveness possible?', and 'Without it aren't we talking about inequities for student learning?'.

These service-like event situations have been the focal topic (the locus of observation) of our study. However, rather than dwelling on these situations as potentially interruptive to teacher activity or as occasions for teacher decision-making, we wanted to shift to a broader perspective on these situations. We wanted to shift the focus, as it were, away from specific teacher problems in two ways. First, we want to rethink these situations in terms of the communicative demands that are placed on all participants, both teacher and students. Secondly, we wanted to rethink these situations in terms of how they relate to other classroom situations. In trying to do this we have talked about the kind of communicative skills displayed, the generalizations we have observed, and some probable reasons for these.

Beginning, then, by focusing on the "service-like event" we have tried to think about the nature of the conveyance resources and the pedagogical controls available to the teacher, the query resources available to the students, and the communicative demands that are placed upon both the teacher and the students when they are copresent but not necessarily involved in the same focal activity. In exploring these issues we have tried to consider the interweaving of several pairs of related phenomena: academic and social use of language, social and task participation, activity structures and participant structures, vectors of activity and modalities, and verbal and non-verbal modalities. And we have invoked the paradigmatic themes of conversational access, ritual boundedness, and ritual equilibrium throughout.

As we have pointed out, although the situation in which the teacher is engaged in individualized instruction with only a subset of the children occurs more frequently in open classrooms, the situation occurs in classrooms generally. The "back to basics" trend has not meant that teachers give up reading groups, for example. In that sense, these findings and hypotheses may contribute to the more general study of face-to-face interaction in educational settings, as well as to an understanding of how effective, less didactic programs seem to work.

Our study was not aimed at evaluating the teachers we observed. Rather, independent evidence about the very favorable reputation of the school and the experience of the teachers in that school led us to approach the investigation as a descriptive study of how effective teachers handle periods of individualized instruction time. Our observations have convinced us that teachers who effectively use individualized instruction do achieve consistencies in their responsiveness to child-initiated talk, and that these consistencies are part of a larger set of behavioral norms about conversational access generally.

At this point, though, what we have come up with is another apparent paradox: On the basis of our findings it seems that although the goal of individualized instruction is to allow children more freedom and more choice in their activities than in didactic programs, the most effective "open style" teachers are those who exercise the most control over what constitutes appropriate student behavior.

This paradox may begin to unravel by "pulling on" the following two threads of speculation: First, more teacher control may allow the students to "learn the rules" (explicit or implicit) for appropriate participation more quickly, and thus, to more quickly achieve a sense of "belonging" or of group membership in the classroom. Note that an orientation to this desired effect of "establishing a sense of belonging" may account for differing teacher strategies with respect to "shaping up" appropriate service-like event behavior. In particular, a teacher may choose to be more lax in the beginning of the year in order to encourage attention seeking and the child's sense of "being able to participate" right from the start, and then tighten up on the kinds of "interruptions" that are tolerated as the year goes on and as children become more self-confident and socially secure; *or* a teacher may be very firm in his/her enforcement of what constitutes "legitimate interruption" right from the beginning of the year, and rely on the fact that consistency throughout the year will facilitate faster learning of appropriate behavior that will enhance the students' sense of self-confidence and inspire both peer-group identification and social respect for the teacher based on recognition that the classroom operates with "the same rules for everybody all the time."

Secondly, it may be the case that the most satisfying way to compare "structured" classroom style teaching and "open" classroom style teaching will turn out to be *not* in terms of differences in degree of teacher control but rather in terms of differences in the way control is manifested. It would seem reasonable, for example, to hypothesize that "equally effective" teaching programs might have "equal amounts" of teacher control, and that differences in effective teaching style might best be characterized in terms of the location of teacher control within the organization of classroom activities. The whole group classroom situation provides the teacher with the opportunity to exert control through focussed attention on a task that both s/he and the students have as main involvement. The special challenge to the teacher using individualized instruction is to exert control through structuring task completion environments that students can do (almost) independently, and by further structuring "independently-working" students' understanding of how to make the "fail-safe" mechanism - the service-like event - work to serve both their own immediate needs and those of the otherwise occupied teacher.

This brings us to the real crux of the matter: Attention, as we know, is a major form of reinforcement. It is not so much what teachers *say* that they will attend to as what teachers *do* attend to that has the greatest effect on children's behavior. Unfortunately, the communicative demands of managing task involvement and social rapport in non whole-group settings do not lend themselves entirely to being organized in just so many simple rules (though careful planning of the various tasks and other ways of structuring anticipated child needs are clearly important teacher controls). A lot thus depends on the teacher's ability to establish consistency between what s/he may want the "rules for interrupting teacher" to be or what s/he may tell students that they are, and the way s/he "informally teaches" the "rules" through his/her actual responsiveness to students in service-like events—incorporating (into the teacher vector of activity), slotting out, deferring, rechannelling, etc.

It is clear, then, that the situational demands of individualized instruction time require sophisticated communicative skills on the part of both students and teachers. It also seems inherent in the situation that the informal learning of these skills through participation in "as needed" interactional activities like service-like events is more powerful than the learning of communicative norms through direct teacher instruction (recall the interruptions lesson). The really encouraging thing, though, is that the communicative skills so learned are learned well, and that because of their ad hoc "naturalness" the skills may indeed be more readily transferable to situations outside the classroom (see subsection III-B of this report). In a sense, then, the demands may be greater, but so may be the rewards.

We find ourselves pretty much in agreement with the concluding remarks of Cazden's paper:

> Because everything we know about language development suggests that it develops best, in functions as well as structure, when motivated by powerful communicative intent, and because we want to stimulate development and not just mimic it, it is important to try to make "natural," less didactic, group environments more effective. It should be possible to maximize consistency and thereby familiarity in child-adult relationships and guarantee that the children who need talking time with adults get it... (1974, p. 218).

Based on the effectiveness of the twelve teachers we have observed, we feel confident that it can be done. We reflective observers only wish we could be more skillful in sharing the insights that they have provided us with.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adelman, Clem. 1976. The use of objects in the education of children of 3-5 years. Final report HR3234/1, HR3661/1 to the Social Science Research Council.

______________. 1977. Sociological constructions: teachers' categories. In Peter Woods and Martyn Hammersley (eds.). School Experience. London.

______________ and Walker, Rob. 1975. A Guide to Classroom Observation. Methuen.

Amidon, Edmund J. and Ned A. Flanders. 1967. The Role of the Teacher In the Classroom. Minneapolis: Association for Productive Teaching, Inc.

Anderson, Blaine. 1978. Hand to hand transfer of small objects in social interaction. Paper presented to the American Anthropological Association, Los Angeles.

Anderson, Linda, M., Evertson, C.M. and Edmund Emmer. "Dimension in Classroom Management Derived from Recent Research. Paper presented in symposium, Perspectives on Classroom Management Research, Stefan Dasho, Chair, at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association. San Francisco, Calif., April 1979.

Austin, J.L. 1962. J.O. Urmson, (ed.). How to Do Things with Words. New York: Oxford University Press.

Barr, Rebecca and Robert Dreeben. Instruction in classrooms. Review of Research in Education, 5.

Bauman, Richard, and Joel Sherzer (eds.). 1974. Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking. London: Cambridge University Press.

Bellack, Arno A., Herbert M. Kliebard, Ronald T. Hyman and Frank L. Smith, Jr. 1966. The Language of the Classroom. New York: Teachers' College Press.

Behnke G., Labovitz, E.G. "A Summary Report of the Study: Coping with Classroom Distractions" - "Please Take A Number". ms. Distributed at the 1979 AERA meetings.

Bennett, Adrian. 1978. Interruptions and the interpretation of conversation. In Jon Jeager and Anthony Woodbury et al. (eds.). Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society. pp. 557-575.

______________. 1978. Rhythmic analysis of multiple levels of communicative behavior in face-to-face interaction. Ms., Dept. of Anthropology, University of Arizona. To appear in Walburga von Raffler-Engler and Bates Hofer (eds.). Aspects of Nonverbal Communication. Munich, Germany.

Bolinger, Dwight. 1957. *Interrogative Structures of American English: The Direct Question*. University, Alabama: Published for the American Dialect Society by University of Alabama Press, 28.

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1944. Secondary and tertiary responses to language. *Language*. 20:45-55.

Borman, Kathryn M. 1979. "Children's Interaction on Playgrounds. In *Theory Into Practice*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4. pp. 251-257. Columbus, Ohio: College of Education, University of Ohio.

Bransford, John D., J. Richard Barclay, and Jeffrey J. Franks. 1972. Sentence memory: a constructive versus interpretive approach. *Cognitive Psychology* 3. 193-209.

Brooks, Douglas M. and Wagenhauser, Betsy. 1979. Pupil completion time as a nonverbal component of teacher attitude toward selected pupils. ms. under editorial consideration.

——————— and Wilson, Barry J. 1978. Teacher verbal and nonverbal behavioral expression toward selected pupils. *Journal of Educational Psychology* Vol. 70, No. 2, pp. 147-153.

Brophy, Jere E. and Thomas L. Good. 1974. *Teacher-Student Relationships: Causes and Consequences*. New York: Holt Rinehart, and Winston.

Brown, Penelope and Levinson, Stephen. 1978. Universals in Language usage: Politeness phenomena. In Esther Goody (ed.). *Questions and Politeness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bruner, Jerome S. 1973. *Beyond the Information Given*. Edited by Jeremy M. Anglin. New York: W.W. Norton and Co., Inc.

———————. 1975. The ontogenesis of speech acts. *Journal of Child Language* 2:1-20.

———————. 1978. *The Process of Education*. (second edition) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Bryan, Tanis S. 1974. An observation analysis of classroom behaviors of children with learning disabilities. *Journal of Learning Disabilities*.

Buckley, Marilyn. 1979. "The Development of Verbal Thinking and Its Implications for Teaching. In *Theory into Practice*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 295-297, Columbus, Ohio: College of Education, University of Ohio.

Cahir, Stephen R. 1978. Activity Within and between Activity: Transition. Ph.D. dissertation in linguistics, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Campbell, Douglas, R. 1979. "Going for the Answers" In Classroom Questioning Encounters. Paper presented in a session on "Anthropology and Children's School Experiences" at the 77th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association. Cincinnati, Ohio.

Carrasco, Robert L. 1979. Expanded awareness of student performance: A case study in applied ethnographic monitoring in a bilingual classroom. Working Papers in Sociolinguistics No. 60. Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Austin, Texas.

Cazden, Courtney B. 1974. Two Paradoxes in the Acquisition of Language Structure and Functions. In K. Connolly & J. Bruner (eds.). The growth of competence N.Y.: Academic Press.

_________________. 1977. Language assessment: what, where and how. Anthropology and Education Quarterly 8, 2:83-91.

_________________. 1979. Language in education: variation in the teacher-talk register. Proceedings from the 30th Annual Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics, Language in Public Life. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

_________________. 1979b. Peekaboo as an Instructional Model: Discourse Development at Home and at School. Papers and Reports of Child Language Development, 17, 4. Stanford University.

_________________. 1980. Learning to Read in Classroom Interaction. In J.T. Guthrie (ed). Reading Comprehension and Education. Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

_________________, Cox, Martha, Dickinson, David, Steinberg, Zina and Stone, Carolyn. 1979. "You all gonna hafta listen": Peer teaching in a primary classroom. To appear in W.A. Collins (ed.) Children's Language and Communication. 12th Annual Minnesota Symposium on Child Psychology, Hillsboro, N.J.

_________________, Vera P. John and Dell Hymes (eds.). 1972. Functions of Language in the Classroom. New York: Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Chase, Cindy et al. 1979. "Interactive Research and Development: The Participant's View" In collaboration with The San Diego Interactive Research and Development Teaching Team (J. Bennett, J. Day, C. Lazar, D. Mittleholtz, G. Behnke.) San Diego Unified School District: Horton School. Presentation to AERA, San Francisco.

Cherry, Louise. 1979. The role of adults' requests for clarification in the language development of children. In R. Freedle (Ed.), New directions in discourse processing. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Co., 273-286.

______________. 1980. A Sociocognitive Approach to Language Development and Its Implications for Education. In O. Garnica and M. King (eds.) Language, Children, and Society, New York: Pergamon Press (in press).

Cherry, Louise J. 1978. A sociolinguistic approach to the study of teacher expectations. Discourse Processes 1, 373-394.

________________ and Berman, Linda S. 1978. Teacher-student interaction and teachers' perceptions of students' communicative competence: a cross-sectional study. Technical Report No. 473 to the Center Royalty Fund Committee. Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Individualized Schooling, The University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

Chomsky, Noam. 1965. Aspects of the Theory of Syntax. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.

Christian, Donna and Rosemary Tripp. 1978. Teachers' Perception and Children's Language Use. In Peg Griffin and Roger Shuy (eds.) Final Report to the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Arlington, Va.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

*

Cicourel, Aaron V. et al. 1974. Language Use and School Performance. New York: Academic Press, Inc.

Clark, H.H. and P. Lucy. 1975. Understanding what is meant from what is said: a study in conversationally conveyed requests. Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior 14-56-72.

Cohen, Elizabeth. 1979. Design and Redesign of the desegregated school: Problems of status, power, and conflict. Chapter in Desegregation, Past, Present and Future. Aronson, E. (ed.) New York: Plenum Publishing Company.

Cole, Michael, Peg Griffin and Denis Newman. 1979. They're All the Same in Their Own Way. Paper presented to the mid-project research forum on Teaching As A Linguistic Process sponsored by the National Institute of Education (Washington, D.C.), Program on Teaching and Instruction. Fredericksburg, Va.

Cole, Peter and Jerry L. Morgan (eds.). 1975. Syntax and Semantica (Volume III): Speech Acts. New York: Academic Press.

Collins, Wilkie. 1874. The Dead Secret, a novel. New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers.

Condon, William. 1966. The sound film analysis of normal and pathological behavior patterns. Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease. 143,4:338-47.

________________ and W.D. Ogsten. 1969. Speech and body motion. In Paul Kjeldergaard (ed.). Perception of Language. Columbus, OH: Charles Merrill.

________________ and L. W. Sanders. 1974. On the neonate and adult speech. Child Development 45:456-62.

* Churchill

See Addenda

Connolly, K. and J. Bruner (eds.). 1974. The Growth of Competence. New York: Academic Press.

Cook-Gumperz, Jenny. Situated Instructions: Language Socialization of School Age Children. In Child Discourse. University of California, Berkeley, California.

__________________. 1979. "Communicating with Young Children. In Theory Into Practice, Vol. XVIII, No. 4. pp. 207-212. Columbus, Ohio: College of Education, Ohio State Univ.

__________________ and William Corsaro. 1977. "Socio-Ecological Constraints on Children's Communicative Strategies." Sociology, September.

__________________, John J. Gumperz and Herbert D. Simons. 1979. Language at School and Home: Theory, Methods, and Preliminary Findings. Paper presented to the mid-project research forum on Teaching As a Linguistic Process, sponsored by the National Institute of Education (Washington, D.C.), Program on Teaching and Instruction, Fredericksburg, Va.

Cooper, Catherine R. 1979. Children's Discourse in Cooperative and Didactic Interaction: Developmental Patterns in Effective Learning. Paper presented to the mid-project research forum on Teaching As A Linguistic Process, sponsored by the National Institute of Education (Washington, D.C.), Program on Teaching and Instruction. Fredericksburg, Va.

Corsaro, William A. 1979. "We're Friends, Right?": Children's Use of Access Rituals in a Nursery School. Language In Society 8, 3:315-337.

Coulthard, Malcolm. 1977. An Introduction to Discourse Analysis. London: Longmans.

Darnell, Regna. 1979. Reflections on Cree Interactional Etiquette: Educational Implications. Working Papers in Sociolinguistics, No. 57. Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Austin, Texas.

____________ and Vanek, Anthony. 1978. On the aim and scope of linguistics. PIL 11 (3-4).

Davidson, D. and G. Harman (eds.). 1972. Semantics of Natural Language. Dordrecht, Holland: Reidel.

Dore, John. 1977. Oh them Sheriff. In Susan Ervin-Tripp and Claudia Mitchell-Kernan (eds.) Child Discourse. New York: Academic Press, (pp.).

Douglas, Jack, ed. 1970. Understanding Everyday Life. Chicago: Aldine Press.

Doyle, Walter. 1978. Task structures and student roles in classrooms. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Toronto.

Doyle, Walter. 1979. "Making Managerial Decisions in Classrooms. Offprint from the Seventy-eighth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Classroom Management 1979. pp. 42-74. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

____________. 1979. The Tasks of Teaching and Learning in Classrooms. R & D Report No. 4103. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.

Driver, Beth. Children's Negotiation of Answers to Questions. Working Papers in Sociolinguistics, No. 51. Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Austin, Texas.

Dumont, R. and M. Wax. 1969. Cherokee School Society and the Intercultural Classroom. Human Organization 28, 3:217-226.

Duncan, Starkey, Jr. 1974. On the structure of speaker-auditor interaction. Language in Society 3, 2. 161-180.

Dunkin, Michael J. and Bruce J. Biddle. 1974. The Study of Teaching. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Eder, Donna. "The Impact of Management and Turn-Allocation Activities of Student Performance. In Working Papers in Sociolinguistics Series, No. 65. Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Austin, Texas.

Emmer, E.T., Evertson, C.M. and L.M. Anderson. 1979. "The First Weeks of Class . . . and the Rest of the Year. Paper presented in Symposium, Perspectives on Classroom Management Research, Stefan Dasho, Chair at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association.

Erickson, Frederick. 1976. Gatekeeping encounters: a social selection process. In Peggy Sanday (ed.). Anthropology and the Public Interest. New York: Academic Press.

___________________. 1978. Timing and Context in Everyday Discourse: Implications for the Study of Referential and Social Meaning. Working Papers in Sociolinguistics, No. 67. Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Austin, Texas.

___________________. 1979. "Mere Ethnography: Some Problems in its Use in Educational Practice. In Anthropology and Education Quarterly, Vol. 10, #3.

___________________ and Gerald Mohatt. 1980. Cultural Organization of Participation Structures in Two Classrooms of Indian Students. In George D. Spindler (ed.) Doing the Ethnography of Schooling. (in press)

___________________ and Shultz, Jeffrey. 1977. "When is a context?: Some issues and methods in the analysis of social competence. Quarterly Newsletter of the Institute for Comparative Human Development, Vols. 1 & 2:1-3. Also to appear in Judith Green and Cynthia Wallat (eds.) Ethnographic Approaches to Face-to-Face Interactions, Vol. 4 in Discourse Processes Series (Roy O. Freedle, series editor) Ablex Publishing Corp., New Jersey (in press).

Ervin-Tripp, Susan. 1970. Discourse agreement: how children answer questions. In J.R. Hayes (ed.). Cognition and the Development of Language. New York: Wiley.

__________________. 1972. On sociolinguistic rules: alternation and co-occurrence. In John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (eds.). Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. 213-250.

__________________. 1976. Is Sybil there? The structure of American English directives, Language in Society 5:25-66.

__________________ and Claudia Mitchell-Kernan (eds.). 1977. Child Discourse. New York: Academic Press.

Ferguson, Charles. 1976. The structure and use of politeness formulas. Language in Society 5:137-152.

Fillmore, Charles, J. 1973. "May we come in?". Semiotica IX, 2. 97-116.

____________________. 1975. An alternative to checklist theories of meaning. Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society, 123-131. Berkeley, California: Berkeley Linguistics Society.

____________________. 1976. Pragmatics and the description of discourse. Manuscript.

Filmer, Paul, Michael Phillipson, David Silverman and David Walsh. 1972. New Directions in Sociological Theory. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press.

Florio, S., and Shultz, J. 1979. "Social Competence at Home and at School. In Theory Into Practice, Vo. XVIII, No. 4. pp. 234-243. Columbus, Ohio: College of. Education, Ohio State University.

Garfinkel, Harold. 1967. Studies in Ethnomethodology. New York: Prentice Hall.

__________________. 1968. "The Origins of the Term 'Ethnomethodology'." In Richard J. Hill and Kathleen S. Crittenden, eds., Proceedings of the Purdue Symposium on Ethnomethodology, Institute Monograph Series No. 1, Institute for the Study of Social Change, Purdue University. 5-11. Excerpt published in Roy Turner, ed., Ethnomethodology. Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books. 1974. 15-20.

Garner, Richard. 1971. "Presupposition" in philosophy and linguistics. In C.J. Fillmore and D.T. Langendoen (eds.), Studies in Linguistic Semantics. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. 22-42.

Garvey, Catherine. 1975. Requests and responses in children's speech, Journal of Child Language 2:41-61. Also reprinted in Lois Bloom, (ed.). Readings in Language Development (pp. 292-313).

Gearhart, Maryl and Denis Newman. 1979. Learning to draw a picture: the social context of an individual activity. Paper presented to the Symposium on Discourse Processes in the Classroom, annual meetings of the *American Educational Research Association*. To appear (1980) in *Discourse Processes*.

Genishi, Celia. 1979. "Young Children Communicating in the Classroom: Selected Research. In *Theory Into Practice*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4. pp. 244-250. Columbus Ohio: College of Education, Ohio State University.

Gleason, Jean Berko and Sandra Weintraub. The acquisition of routines in child language, Trick or Treat. *Language and Society* 5:129-136.

Goffman, Erving. 1956. The nature of deference and demeanor. *American Anthropologist* 58:473-502. (Also available as Bobbs-Merrill reprint in the Social Sciences series, number S-97)

______________. 1963. *Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.

______________. 1964. The neglected situation. In John Gumperz and Dell Hymes (eds.). The ethnography of communication, special publication of the *American Anthropologist* 66, 6. 133-136.

______________. 1967. On face-work: an analysis of ritual elements in social interaction. In Erving Goffman's *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior*. Garden City, N.J.: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co. 5-46.

______________. 1971. *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*. New York: Basic Books.

______________. 1976. Replies and responses, *Language and Society* 5:257-313.

______________. 1978. "Response Cries" *Language.* 54.4.787-815.

______________. 1979. Footing. *Semiotica*. 25:1-29.

Goody, Esther N. 1978. Questions and Politeness. Strategies in social interaction. *Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology* 8. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne.

Gordon, David and George Lakoff. 1971. Conversational Postulates. In Papers from the Seventh Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society. Chicago: Department of Linguistics, University of Chicago.

Grannis, Joseph C. 1978. Task engagement and the Consistency of Pedagogical Controls: An Ecological Study of Differently Structured Classroom Settings. *Curriculum Inquiry* 8:1.

Green, Judith L., and Wallat, Cynthia. (in press) *Mapping instructional conversations: A sociolinguistic ethnography*. To appear in Green, J.L. and Wallat, C. (Eds.). Ethnographic Approaches to Face-to-Face Interactions, Vol. 4 in Discourse Processes Series, Roy O. Freedle (Series Editor), Ablex Publishing Corporation, New Jersey.

Grice, H.P. 1975. (1967). Logic and conversation. In P. Cole and J.L. Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and Semantics Vol. 3: Speech Acts.* New York: Academic Press. 41-58. Excerpted from H. Paul Grice's William James Lectures, delivered at Harvard University in 1967, and to be published by Harvard University Press.

Griffin, Peg. 1977. Sentence insufficiency. Paper presented to the Sixth Conference on New Ways of Analyzing Variation, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

____________ and Frank Humphrey. 1978. Talk and task at lesson time. In Peg Griffin and Roger Shuy (eds.). Children's Functional Language and Education in Early Years. Final Report to the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Arlington, Virginia: Center for Applied Linguistics.

____________ and Mehan, H. 1979. "Sense and Ritual in Classroom Discourse. To appear in: Florian Coulmas (ed.). *Conversational Routing: Explorations in Standardized Communication Situations and Prepatterned Speech*. Janua Linguarum. The Hague: Mouton.

____________ and Roger Shuy (eds.). 1978. Children's Functional Language and Education in the Early Years. Final Report to the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Arlington, Virginia: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Gumperz, John J. 1977. "Sociocultural Knowledge in Conversational Inference" in M. Saville-Troike, ed., *The twenty-eighth Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

_______________ and Deborah Tannen. 1979. Individual and social differences in language use. In W. Wang and C. Fillmore, (eds.). *Individual Differences in Language Ability and Language Behavior*. New York: Academic Press. Forthcoming.

Gunter, Richard. 1974. *Sentences in Dialog*. Columbia, S.C.: Hornbeam Press.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1967. Notes on transitivity and theme in English: II. *Journal of Linguistics*, 3, 199-244.

_______________. 1975. *Learning How to Mean*. London : Arnold.

_______________ and Raquaiya Hassan, 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longmans.

Hart, C.W.M. 1952. Contrasts Between Prepubertal and Postpubertal Education. Reprinted from George D. Spindler (ed.) *Education and Anthropology*. Stanford, California, Stanford University Press.

Haviland, Susan E. and Clark, Herbert H. 1974. What's New? Acquiring New Information as a Process in Comprehension. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*. No. 13, pp. 512-521.

Heath, Shirley Brice. 1978. Teacher Talk: Language in the Classroom. Volume No. 9 in the series on Language in Education: Theory and Practice. Arlington, Va.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

__________________. (to appear) Ethnography in Education: Toward Defining the Essentials. To appear in Perry Gilmore and Alan Glatthorn (eds.). Proceedings of Colloquium on Ethnography and Education: Children In and Out of School. Pennsylvania: University of Pa.

Henry, Jules. c.a. 1968. Anti-Cognition. Paper prepared for United Nations special report on children and youth. Mimeographed. Department of Sociology - Anthropology. Washington University, St. Louis.

Hiebert, Elfrieda H., and Cherry, Louise J. 1978. Language play in young children's interactions with three co-participants. In Farkas, C., Jacobsen, W.M., and Todrys, K.B., Papers from the Fourteenth Regional Meeting, Chicago Linguistic Society, Chicago, Illinois.

Holzman, Mathilda. 1971. Ellipsis in discourse: implications for linguistic analysis by computer, the child's acquisition of language and semantic theory. Language and Speech 14,
* 1. 86-97.

Humphrey, Frank. 1978. Turn-sequencing repair procedures in primary school lessons. Paper presented to the American Anthropological Association annual meetings, Los Angeles. Also incorporated as chapter 2 in Frank Humphrey, "Shh!": A Sociolinguistic Study of Teachers' Turn-Taking Sanctions During Primary School Lessons, Ph.D. dissertation in linguistics, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 1979.

_______________. 1979. "Shh!": A Sociolinguistic Study of Teachers' Turn-Taking Sanctions in Primary School Lessons. Unpublished dissertation in linguistics, Georgetown University.

Hymes, Dell. 1962. The ethnography of speaking. In T. Gladwin and W.C. Sturtevant (eds.). Anthropology and Human Behavior. Washington, D.C.: Anthropological Society of Washington. 13-53.

___________. 1964. "Introduction: Toward Ethnographies of Communication." In Dell Hymes and John Gumperz (eds.). The Ethnography of Communication, special issue of American Anthropologist. 66, 6:1-34.

___________. 1971. On Linguistic Theory, Communicative Competence, and the Education of Disadvantaged Children. In Murray L. Wax, Stanley Diamond and Fred O. Gearing (eds.), Anthropological Perspectives on Education. New York: Basic Books.

_____________. 1974. Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

* Holzman 1972
see addenda

Hymes, Dell. 1977. Critique for Assessing Language Development - Written and/or Oral. In William J. Tikunoff and Beatrice A. Ward (eds.). Special Issue: Exploring Qualitative/Quantitative Research Methodologies in Education. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* VIII 2:91-93.

___________. 1978. What is Ethnography? Working Papers in Linguistics, Number 45. Austin, Texas: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory. Also to appear in: Perry Gilmore and Alan Glatthourn (eds.). *Proceedings of Colloquium on Ethnography and Education: Children In and Out of School* (to appear).

___________. 1979. Ethnographic Monitoring. Paper distributed at the mid-project research forum on Teaching As A Linguistic Process, sponsored by the National Institute of Education (Washington, D.C.) Program on Teaching and Instruction. Fredericksburg, Va.

Irvine, Judith. 1974. Strategies of status manipulation in the Wolof greeting. In Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer (eds.). *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

______________. 1979. Formality and Informality in Communicative Events. *American Anthropologist*.

Jefferson, Gail. 1972. Side sequences. In D. Sudnow (ed.). *Studies in Social Interaction*. New York: The Free Press. 294-338.

Keenan, Elinor O. 1974. Conversational competence in children *Journal of Child Language* 1:163-83.

_______________. 1977. Making It Last: Repetition in Children's Discourse. In Susan Ervin-Tripp and Claudia Mitchell-Kernan (eds.). *Child Discourse*. New York: Academic Press (pp. 125-138)

_______________, Schieffelin, Bambi B. and Platt, Martha. Questions of immediate concern. In Esther N. Goody (ed.). *Questions and Politeness*, Cambridge University Press.

Kendon, Adam. 1977. *Studies in the Behavior of Social Interaction*. Lisse: de Ridder Press. also published in Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

___________. 1978. Differential Perception and Attentional Frame in Face-to-Face Interaction: Two Problems for Investigation. *Semiotica* 24:305-315.

___________, Richard M. Harris, and Mary Ritchie Key (eds.). *Organization of Behavior in Face-to-Face Interaction*. The Hague: Mouton.

Knott, Gladys P. 1979. "Nonverbal Communication During Early Childhood. In *Theory Into Practice*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4. pp. 226-233. Columbus, Ohio: College of Education, Ohio State University.

Koehler, Virginia. 1977. "Classroom Process Research: Present and Future" In the *Journal of Classroom Interaction*, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 3-11. Houston, Texas: College of Education, The University of Houston.

_______________. 1980. "Teaching as a Linguistic Process" Mid-Project Research Report. Program on Teaching and Instruction. Teaching and Learning Program. National Institute of Education.

Kohl, Herbert. 1970. (C. 1969). *The Open Classroom.* a practical guide to a new way of teaching.

Kounin, Jacob S. 1970. *Discipline and Group Management in Classrooms.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Labov, William. 1966. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Arlington, Virginia: Center for Applied Linguistics.

_______________. 1970a. *The Study of Non-Standard English*. Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English.

_______________. 1972. Negative attraction and negative concord in English grammar. *Language* 48:773-818. Also chapter 4 of *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular* by William Labov, 1972, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, pp. 130-196.

_______________. 1970b. The study of language in its social context. *Studium Generale* 23. 30-87.

_______________ and Fanshel, David. 1977. *Therapeutic Discourse: Psychotherapy as Conversation*. New York: Academic Press.

Lakoff, Robin T. 1979. "Stylistic Strategies within a Grammar of Style", in Judith Orasanu et al., ed., *Language, Sex, and Gender*.

Lemke, J.L. 1979. *Action, Context, and Meaning*. City University of New York, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Levinson, Stephen C. 19[illegible] Activity Types and Language. *Pragmatics* Microfiche Vol. 3, Fiche 3-3 - pages D.1 to G.5.

Levinson, Stephen C. 19[illegible] Some Pre-Observations on the Modelling of Dialogue. University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England.

Loban, Walter D. 1963. *The Language of Elementary School Children.* Champaign, Ill.: N.C.T.E.

Lycan, William. 1977. Conversation, politeness and interruption. *Papers In Linguistics* 10, 1: 23-53.

McDermott, Raymond P. 1976. *Kids Make Sense: An Ethnographic Account of the Interactional Management of Success and Failure in One First Grade Classroom*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University.

____________________, K. Gospodinoff. 1978. Social Contexts for Ethnic Borders and School Failure. In A. Wolfgang (ed.), *Nonverbal Behavior*. Toronto: Ontario Institute for the Study of Education.

McTear, Michael F. 1979. Some issues in the analysis of discourse. Papers In Linguistics 12, 3-4:393-415.

Mehan, Hugh. 1973. Assessing children's language using abilities: Methodological and cross-cultural implications. In J.M. Armer and A.D. Grinshaw (eds.). Methodological Issues in Cross-Cultural Research. New York: Wiley - Interscience.

___________. 1979a. Learning Lessons. Social Organization in the Classroom. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England.

___________. 1979b. "The Competent Student". In Working Papers in Sociolinguistics Series, No. 61. Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Austin, Texas.

___________. 1979c. "What Time Is It, Denise?": Asking Known Information Questions in Classroom Discourse. In Theory Into Practice, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 285-294. Columbus, Ohio: College of Education, University of Ohio.

___________ and Houston Wood. 1975. The Reality of Ethnomethodology. New York: Wiley.

Merritt, C. Gary. 1969. Micro-Social Structures and Language Acquisition. Ph.D. dissertation in sociology, Washington University, St. Louis.

Merritt, Marilyn. 1976a. Resources for saying in service encounters. Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Linguistics, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

_______________. 1976b. On questions following questions (in service encounters). Language in Society 5:315-357.

_______________. 1977. The playback: an instance of variation in discourse. In Roger Shuy and Ralph Fasold (eds.). Papers from the Third Conference on New Ways of Analyzing Variation. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

_______________. 1978. On the use of "OK" in service encounters. Working Papers in Sociolinguistics No. 42. Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Austin. Forthcoming in Papers from the Conferences on New Ways of Analyzing Variation. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. Also to be reprinted in Bauman and Sherzer (eds.). Language Use in American Life: selected working papers in sociolinguistics.

_______________. 1979a. Building 'Higher' Units and Levels: the Case for the Strategic Locus of Observation. In Paul R. Clyne, William F. Hanks, & Carol L. Hofbauer (eds.) The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, Univ. of Chicago. 119-131.

Merritt, Marilyn. 1979b. "Communicative Loading" and Intertwining of Verbal and Non-Verbal Modalities in Service Events. Papers in Linguistics, 12:3-4, 365-392.

________________. 1979c. The view from serice-like events: Teaching as managing linguistic (communicative) participation. Paper presented to the mid-project research forum on Teaching As A Linguistic Process, sponsored by the National Institute of Education (Washington, D.C.) Program on Teaching and Instruction. Fredericksburg, Va.

________________ and Humphrey, Frank. 1979. Teacher, Talk and Task: Communicative Demands During Individualized Instruction Time. In Theory Into Practice, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 298-303. Columbus, Ohio: College of Education, University of Ohio.

________________1980. Repeats and Reformulations in Primary Classrooms as Windows on the Nature of Talk Engagement, Discourse Processes (in press) special issue edited by Louise Cherry Wilkinson on Language of School Age Children.

Michaels, Sarah and Jenny Cook-Gumperz. 1979. A Study of Sharing Time With First Grade Students: Discourse Narratives in the Classroom. Distributed at NIE July 1979 Conference.

Miller, Peggy J. 1979. Amy, Wendy, and Beth: A Study of Early Language Development in South Baltimore. Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University.

Mishler, Elliott G. 1975. Studies in dialogue and discourse: an exponential law of successive questioning. Language in Society 4. 31-51.

________________. 1975b. Studies in dialogue and discourse; an exponential law of successive questioning. Language and Society 4:31-51.

________________. 1976a. Studies in dialogue and discourse III: utterance structure and utterance function in interrogative sequences. Journal of Psycholinguistic Research.

________________. 1976b. Studies in dialogue and discourse V: "Won't you trade cookies with the popcorn?" the talk of trades among six year olds. Ms.

National Conference on Studies in Teaching, Panel 5. 1974. Teaching as a linguistic process in a cultural setting. ERIC I.D. Number 111-805.

Ninio, Anat and Jerome Bruner. 1978. The Achievement and Antecedents of Labelling. Journal of Child Language 5:1-15.

Ochs, Elinor. 1979. Planned and Unplanned Discourse. In Givon, Talmy (ed.). 1979. Syntax and Semantics, Volume 12: Discourse and Syntax. New York: Academic Press.

Ochs, Elinor and Bambi Schieffelin (eds.). 1979. *Developmental Pragmatics.* New York: Academic Press.

Ong, Walter, S.J. 1979. Orality and Literacy in Our Times, *Profession*. (Publication of the Modern Language Association).

Owens, Mary Elizabeth. 1979. Ph.D. dissertation in linguistics. *Solicitation Techniques Among English-Speaking Children in the U.S*. Georgetown University.

Philips, Susan U. 1972. Participant structures and communicative competence: Warm Springs children in community and classroom. In C. Cazden, V. John, and D. Hymes (eds.) *Functions of Language in the Classroom*. New York; Teachers College Press.

Phillips, Gerald M., Robert E. Dunham, Robert Brebaker, David Butt. 1970. *The Development of Oral Communication in the Classroom*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc.

Prince, Ellen F. 1976. The syntax and semantics of NEG-raising, with evidence from French. *Language* 52,2:404-426.

_______________. 1978. On the function of existential presupposition in discourse. In Farkas, D., W. Jacobsen, and K. Todrys, eds. Papers from the fourteenth regional meeting. Chicago Linguistics Society, pp. 362-76.

_______________. 1979a. On the given/new distinction. In Hanks, W., C. Hofbauer, and P. Clyne, eds. Papers from the fifteenth regional meeting Chicago Linguistic Society. Pp. 267-78.

_______________. 1979b. "Toward a Taxonomy of Given/New Information". To appear in Cole, Peter, ed. *Radical Pragmatics*, N.Y.: Academic Press. 1979 ms.

Read, Barbara K., and Cherry, Louise J. 1978. Preschool children's production of directive forms. *Discourse Processes* 1. 233-245.

Sacks, H. , E.A. Schegloff; and G. Jefferson. 1974. A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language* 50. 696-735.

Sadock, Jerrold M. 1974. *Toward a Linguistic Theory of Speech Acts*. Academic Press. New York, San Francisco, London.

Schank, Roger C. 1975. The role of memory in language processing. Presented at the 1975 meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. To appear in *The Nature of Human Memory*, ed. by C. Cofer and R. Atkinson. W.H. Freeman Press.

Scheflen, Albert E. 1973. *How Behavior Means*. New York: Gordon and Breach.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1972 (1968). Sequencing in conversational openings. In John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (eds.). *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. 346-380. Reprinted from the *American Anthropologist* 70, 6.

Schegloff, E. and Harvey Sacks. 1973. Opening up closings. Semiotica VIII, 4. 289-327.

___________, Gail Jefferson, and Harvey Sacks. 1977. The Preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation, Language 53:361-382.

___________. 1979. The relevance of repair to syntax-for-conversation. In Talmy Givon (ed.). Syntax and Semantics 12: Discourse and Syntax. New York: Academic Press. 261-286.

Schenkein, Jim. (ed.). 1978. Studies In the Organization of Conversational Interaction. New York: Academic Press.

Schiffrin, Deborah. 1974. Handwork as ceremony: the case of the handshake. Semiotica XII, 3, 189-202.

Scribner, Sylvia. 1977. Modes of Thinking and Ways of Speaking: Culture and Logic Reconsidered. In P.N. Johnson-Laird and P.C. Wason (eds.). Thinking. Readings in Cognitive Science. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

_______________ and M. Cole. 1973. Cognitive Consequences of Formal and Informal Education. Science Vol. 182, pp. 553-559.

Searle, John R. 1975. Indirect speech acts. In P. Cole and J.L. Morgan (eds.). Syntax and Semantics Volume 3: Speech Acts. New York: Academic Press. 59-82.

Shatz, Marilyn. 1975. How young children respond to language: Procedures for answering. Stanford: Stanford University Papers and Reports on Child Language Development, No. 10.

Sherzer, Joel. 1978. Units in discourse in everyday speech. Paper for American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Symposium: Discourse: Speech Acts and Contextualization.

Shiels-Djouadi, Marie. 1979. Discussant Response on the Practical Implications of Same Recently Funded N.I.E. Projects on Teaching As A Linguistic Process. Presentation (as panel chair) to the Mid-Project Research Forum on Teaching As A Linguistic Process. Fredericksburg, Va. (Sponsored under the direction of Virginia Koehler by the Teaching and Learning Program, National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C.). In Koehler 1980.

Shuger, Grace Wales. 1978. A discourse analysis system applied to talk of children at age three to five. Paper submitted to the Discourse Symposium, Fifth International Congress of Applied Linguistics, Montreal.

Shultz, Jeffrey. 1976. It's not whether you win or lose, it's how you play the game. Working Paper No. 2, Newton Classroom Interaction Project. Cambridge: Harvard Graduate School of Education.

Shultz, Jeffrey and Susan Florio. 1979. Stop and Freeze: the negotiation of social and physical space in a kindergarten/first grade classroom. Anthropology and Education Quarterly 10, 3 (fall): 166-181.

____________________ and Frederick Erickson. 1980. "Where's the Floor?": Aspects of the cultural organization of social relationships in communication at home and at school. In Perr y Gilmore and Alan Glatthorn (eds.) Ethnography and Education: Children In and Out of School. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Shuy, Roger. 1976. The mismatch of child language and school language: Implications for beginning reading instruction. Conference on Beginning Reading Instruction, University of Pittsburgh.

__________. 1970. Teacher training and urban language problems. In Ralph W. Fasold and Roger W. Shuy (eds.). Teaching Standard English in the Inner City. Arlington, Virginia: Center for Applied Linguistics.

__________ and Peg Griffin. Forthcoming. What do they do at school any day: studying functional language. In W. Patrick Dixon (ed.). Children's Oral Communication Skills.

Simon, A. and E.G. Boyer. (eds.). 1969. Mirrors for behavior: anthropology of classroom observation instruments. Philadelphia: Research for Better Schools.

Sinclair, John and Malcolm Coulthard. 1975. Towards an analysis of discourse: The English used by teachers and pupils. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Snow, C.E. and C.A. Ferguson (eds.). 1977. Talking to Children: Language Input and Acquisition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Steinberg, Z.D. & Cazden, C.B. 1979. "Children as Teachers - Of Peers and Ourselves. In Theory Into Practice, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 258-266. Columbus, Ohio: College of Education, University of Ohio.

Stubbs, Michael. 1976. Language, Schools and Classrooms. London: Oxford University Press.

____________ and Sara Delamont. (eds.). 1976. Explorations in the Classroom. London: John Wiley and Sons.

Sudnow, David. (ed.). 1972. Studies in Social Interaction. New York: The Free Press.

Tikunoff, William J. and Ward, Beatrice A. 1978. A naturalistic study of initiation of students into three classroom social systems. Paper presented in Symposium on "Socialization of Students to Classroom Instructional Styles: Three Perspectives," AERA Meeting, Toronto, Canada.

Tikunoff, William, J., Beatrice A. Ward, Grant H. Behnke, Cindy Chase, Gary A. Griffin, Carolyn Evertson, G. Charlotte Kennedy. 1979. Interactive Research and Development On Teaching: An Overview of the Strategy. Report. Far West Laboratory.

Turner, Roy, ed. 1974. *Ethnomethodology*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc.

Vanek, Anthony L. 1978. Semantic Structures: Toward a Holistic Theory of Human Communication.

Voeglin, C.F. and Zellig Harris. 1947. The Scope of linguistics, *American Anthropologist* 49:588-600.

Vygotsky, L.S. 1962. *Language and Thought.* Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.

____________. 1978. *Mind in Society. The Development of Higher Psychological Process*. Edited by Michael Cole, Vera John-Steiner, Sylvia Scribner and Ellen Souberman. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England.

Walker, Rob and Clem Adelman. 1976. Strawberries. In M. Stubbs and S. Delamont (eds.). *Explorations in Classroom Observation.* Londong: John Wiley and Sons. 133-150.

Wallat, C. & Green, J.L. 1979. Social Rules and Communicative Contexts in Kindergarten. In *Theory Into Practice*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 275-283. Columbus, Ohio: College of Education, University of Ohio.

Warren, Richard L. 1975. Context and Isolation: The Teaching Experience in an Elementary School. *Human Organization*. Vol. 34, No. 2, pp. 139-148.

Wilkinson, L.C. & Dollaghan, C. 1979. Peer Communication in First Grade Reading Groups. In *Theory Into Practice*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 267-274. Columbus, Ohio: College of Education, University of Ohio.

Wolcott, Harry (ed.). 1975. Ethnography of Schooling. Special issue of *Human Organization*, Journal of the Society for Applied Anthropology, Vol. 34, No. 2.

Addenda:

Churchill, Lindsey. 1978. *Questioning Strategies In Sociolinguistics.* Newbury House.

Holzman, Mathilda. 1972. The use of interrogative forms in the verbal interaction of three mothers and their children, *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 1:311-336.

APPENDIX:

REPORT ON DISSEMINATION TO DATE (MARCH 1980)

There are three categories included here: oral presentations, general research abstracts written for dissemination, and written publications.

Oral Presentations:

Volunteered Presentations:

1978 "On the Value of Interdisciplinary Perspectives", University of Pennsylvania annual Linguistics Colloquium. (Merritt)

1978 "Modes of Verbal and Non-Verbal Intertwining In Service Events", American Anthropological Association annual meetings, Los Angeles. (Merritt)

1979 "Building Higher Units and Levels: the Case for the Strategic Locus of Observation", Chicago Linguistic Society, special parasession on The Elements held at the annual meetings, Chicago. (Merritt)

1979 "How Children Get Help From Their Teachers During Individual Work Time", American Anthropological Association annual meetings, Cincinnati. (Merritt)

1980 sched. "Service-Like Events in Primary Classrooms", American Educational Research Association annual meetings, Boston. (Merritt)

Invited Presentations:

1979 "The View From Service-Like Events: Teaching As Managing Linguistic (/ Communicative) Participation" , mid project research forum on Teaching As A Linguistic Process, sponsored by the National Institute of Education, Teaching and Learning Program, Program on Teaching and Instruction, held in Fredericksburg, Va. (Merritt with Humphrey as audiovisual support).

1980 "Methodological Aspects of Research with Naturalistic Data", Bag Lunch Informal Talk Series, Center for Applied Linguistics, (Merritt with Humphrey providing audiovisual support)

1980 "Thinking About Resources for Stylistic Expression in Primary Classrooms". Discussion presentation for the Seminar on Conversational Style at Georgetown University (Professor: Deborah Tannen), Washington, D. C. (Merritt)

1980 sched. "'Slotting' and Some Issues of Verbal and Non-Verbal Intertwining In Goal-Directed Activities". Discussion presentation for the Seminar on the Dynamics of Social Interaction, University of Pennsylvania (Professor: Erving Goffman), Philadelphia. (Merritt)

General Research Abstracts Written for Dissemination

Unsolicited:

1979 Eleventh annual Stanford Child Language Research Forum, Stanford University, Stanford, California. Distributed to participants.

1980 Twelfth annual Stanford Child Language Research Forum, Stanford University, Stanford, California. Distributed to participants.

1980 First annual University of Pennsylvania Ethnography in Education Research Forum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Distributed to participants.

Solicited:

1980 National Institute of Education Handbook of Current and Recently Completed Research Related to Educational Problems. Compiled under the direction of Mary Ann Wilmer through Dingle Associates (in progress).

1980 Teaching As A Linguistic Process Mid-Project Research Report, compiled by Virginia Koehler (including review papers as well as research abstracts), Teaching and Instruction, Teaching and Learning Program, National Institute of Education. (available now)

1980 Handbook of Videotape Research in Classrooms. Compiled by Frederick Erickson, Institute for Research on Teaching, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan (in press).

Written Publications:

1979 Building 'Higher' Units and Levels: the case for the strategic locus of observation. In Paul R. Clyne, William F. Hanks, and Carol L. Hofbauer (eds). The Elements: A Parasession On Linguistic Units and Levels. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, University of Chicago. Pp. 119-131. (Marilyn Merritt)

1979 'Communicative Loading' and Intertwining of Verbal and Non-Verbal Modalities in Service Events. Papers In Linguistics 12,3-4.: 365-392. (Marilyn Merritt)

1979 Teacher, Talk and Task: Communicative Demands During Individualized Instruction Time. In Judith Green (guest editor) special issue on "Communicating With Young Children", Theory Into Practice, XVIII,4: 298-303. Columbus, Ohio: College of Education, University of Ohio. (Marilyn Merritt and Frank Humphrey)

1980 sched. Repeats and Reformulations in Primary Classrooms as Windows on the Nature of Talk Engagement. To appear in Louise Cherry Wilkinson (guest editor) "Language of School Age Children", special issue of Discourse Processes. (Marilyn Merritt)